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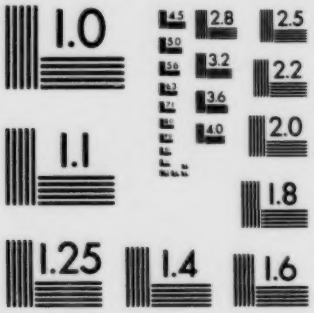

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Revitalization

SOCIAL ANALYSIS

May 1988

City of Toronto
Planning &
Development
Department

Robert E. Millward
Commissioner

S T • J A M E S • T O W N

Revitalization

SOCIAL ANALYSIS

This report was produced for the
City of Toronto
Planning and Development Department
by
Barbara Sanford of Simon Associates
based on
information compiled
from
November to December 1987

Design, Layout, Typesetting, Graphics by the
Planning and Development Department

89-05295/

Simon Associates' Study Team

Barbara Sanford: Research Associate, co-ordinated the research project, designed the detailed research instruments, directed the field work and wrote the report.

Claude Andre: Data Analyst, managed data entry, computer programming and the statistical analysis of survey results.

Charles Simon: Principal, directed and reviewed all aspects of the study.

Agencies, Groups and Individuals Consulted

Ministry of Housing "Design Symposium on Social Housing," speakers included Oscar Newman and Alice Coleman, both noted authors on "defensible space" or "design disadvantages" in low-income residential areas, and Bob Millward and John Gladki, City of Toronto Planning and Development Department.

Neighbourhood Information Post and the Service Providers' Network, coordinated by Chris Brillinger.

St. James Town Focus Group, facilitated by Jim Ward, consultant.

St. James Town Working Committee, chaired by John Sewell, executive director, Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority.

The Livable Winter Cities Association, Women In/And Planning and Women Plan Toronto, joint meeting on the St. James Town Revitalization Project, speakers included Vince Pietropaolo, City of Toronto Planning and Development Department and "Betty," St. James Town Tenants' Council.

Acknowledgements

Many people contributed to this study and I owe thanks to them all, but first, I would like to thank my co-workers. Charles Simon, as principal in charge, supported my work throughout this project, frequently sharing his insights on housing design and management issues with me and encouraging me to clarify my own understanding and portrayal of such issues. Claude Andre, as data manager, cheerfully assisted me, not only with the statistical analysis of survey results, but with a wide variety of organizational and methodological tasks. Elizabeth Speirs provided valuable administrative assistance.

In addition, I would like to thank the field researchers: Susan Belyea, Lorraine Bonneville, Beverly Bratty, Paul Chownyk, Susan Higgins, Claude Lefrancois, John Patterson, Gregory Renault and Janet Steele. Though their tasks and efforts varied, all spent many hours in the towers of St. James Town entering, however briefly, the lives of tenants. Their comments about the study, as well as their observations in the neighbourhood, were useful in formulating much of the analysis which follows in this report.

I would also like to thank the members of the St. James Town Revitalization Studies' advisory committee, including the staff of the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department and the Ministry of Housing, as well as Desmond Christopher, the tenant representative on the committee and chairman of the St. James Town Council.

And last, but not least, I owe special thanks to the tenants of St. James Town, who opened their doors to our researchers and provided details about their lives, without which there would be no report.

All opinions expressed herein are those of the consultants.

Barbara Sanford

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Executive Summary

The City of Toronto Planning and Development Department and the Ontario Ministry of Housing have expressed interest in preserving the St. James Town neighbourhood as a vital source of affordable inner-city housing. In order to preserve the existing housing stock, extensive rehabilitation of the high-rise apartment buildings and surrounding infrastructure will be required. This social analysis was commissioned in order to anticipate the social consequences of St. James Town's rehabilitation and suggest policies capable of effectively minimizing the negative impact of rehabilitation on existing tenants, while at the same time improving the physical and social environment of the neighbourhood.

It is essential, therefore, that this report be considered within the context of Metropolitan Toronto's current crisis in affordable housing. The policies and proposals suggested in this study address the issue of St. James Town's revitalization by setting the needs and concerns of existing tenants clearly within this context.

Although St. James Town can usefully be defined as a single neighbourhood, it is not a single community. St. James Town is a neighbourhood because the 18 high-rise apartment towers project an easily recognized image within a clearly defined area. St. James Town is not a single community, however, because the demographic characteristics of tenants, their interests and concerns, as well as their images of themselves and their surroundings vary significantly from one cluster of buildings to the next.

Our interviews with tenants in St. James Town have led us to conceive of the area as 3 large clusters of buildings, each distinguished by a different pair of owners and managers.

- The largest cluster is a group of 8 buildings owned by Meridian Developments and managed by Evergreen Property Management.
- The second largest cluster is a group of 6 buildings owned by Belmont Construction Company Limited and managed by Belmont Property Management.
- The third cluster is a group of 4 buildings owned by Ontario Housing Corporation, administered by Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority and managed by Greenwin Property Management.

These clusters clearly differ, not only in terms of tenants' characteristics, but also in terms of managements' relations with tenants and their maintenance of buildings (as well as their apparent willingness to co-operate in this study). We consistently found the differences between these 3 clusters of buildings to be more striking than their similarities.

Demographic Profile – The population of St. James Town has been increasing in recent years, while the population in the City of Toronto has been decreasing. Originally planned and designed as a neighbourhood for upwardly mobile singles and professional couples, over the past ten years St. James Town has become home for an increasing number of low-income families with children. *We estimate that roughly 10% of the housing units in the neighbourhood are now overcrowded and that virtually all of this overcrowding takes place in the Evergreen-managed buildings.*

Tenants in the Evergreen-managed buildings also have the most diverse ethnic backgrounds, with approximately one quarter of the tenants being relatively recent immigrants, compared with only about 5% of the tenants in either of the other building clusters.

Almost half of the tenants we interviewed reported total household incomes for 1986 below $20,000. While public-housing tenants had the lowest incomes, coming primarily from pensions or social assistance, tenants in the Evergreen-managed buildings also tended to have significantly lower incomes than those in the Belmont-managed buildings, though the vast majority of respondents in both of the private-market housing groups indicated that they had full-time jobs.

Living Conditions and Community Relations – Tenants in the Belmont-managed buildings frequently stated that they did not live in St. James Town. They tend to view themselves as separate both physically and socially. Few of these tenants claimed any attachment to or involvement in St. James Town. They also tended to express significantly more satisfaction with their living conditions and significantly less concern about security and race relations than other tenants.

Tenants in the Evergreen-managed buildings tended to describe themselves as more attached to the community than tenants in other buildings. They were also the most likely to express dissatisfaction with their living conditions, particularly with the condition of buildings and with tenant-management relations. They were the most likely to express concern about security, the majority describing it as poor or very poor, and also the most likely to express concern about race relations in the neighbourhood.

MTHA households tend to have lived in the neighbourhood longest and to go outside the area least. While MTHA tenants appear the most likely to join tenants' organizations or other community groups within the neighbourhood, there seemed to be little general attachment to the community. The MTHA tenants we interviewed were also very concerned about security, race relations and the condition of buildings, though somewhat less so than tenants in the Evergreen-managed buildings.

Physical Conditions – At first glance, the high-rise buildings in St. James Town all appear very similar. A closer examination reveals that the Evergreen-managed buildings, and the Limited Dividend Barbara Apartments in particular, are the most poorly

maintained buildings in the neighbourhood. The MTHA buildings appear somewhat better maintained, though the Belmont-managed buildings are clearly the best maintained.

Rents are relatively low in the private market buildings. (Public housing rents are based on household income.) The average tenant in a private market buildings in St. James Town pays about $400 per month (excluding the newer Belmont buildings on Sherbourne Street). *Nonetheless, we estimate that 16% of the current tenants pay more than 30% of their total household income on rent and that 90% of these are households with incomes under $20,000.*

Though tenants' concerns about the physical condition of their apartment building and the surrounding neighbourhood differed somewhat from one cluster of buildings to the next, they also shared many common concerns. These common concerns included poorly maintained elevators, stairwells and hallways, infestation of cockroaches and mice, falling plaster inside individual apartments, inadequate outdoor lighting and poorly maintained parking lots.

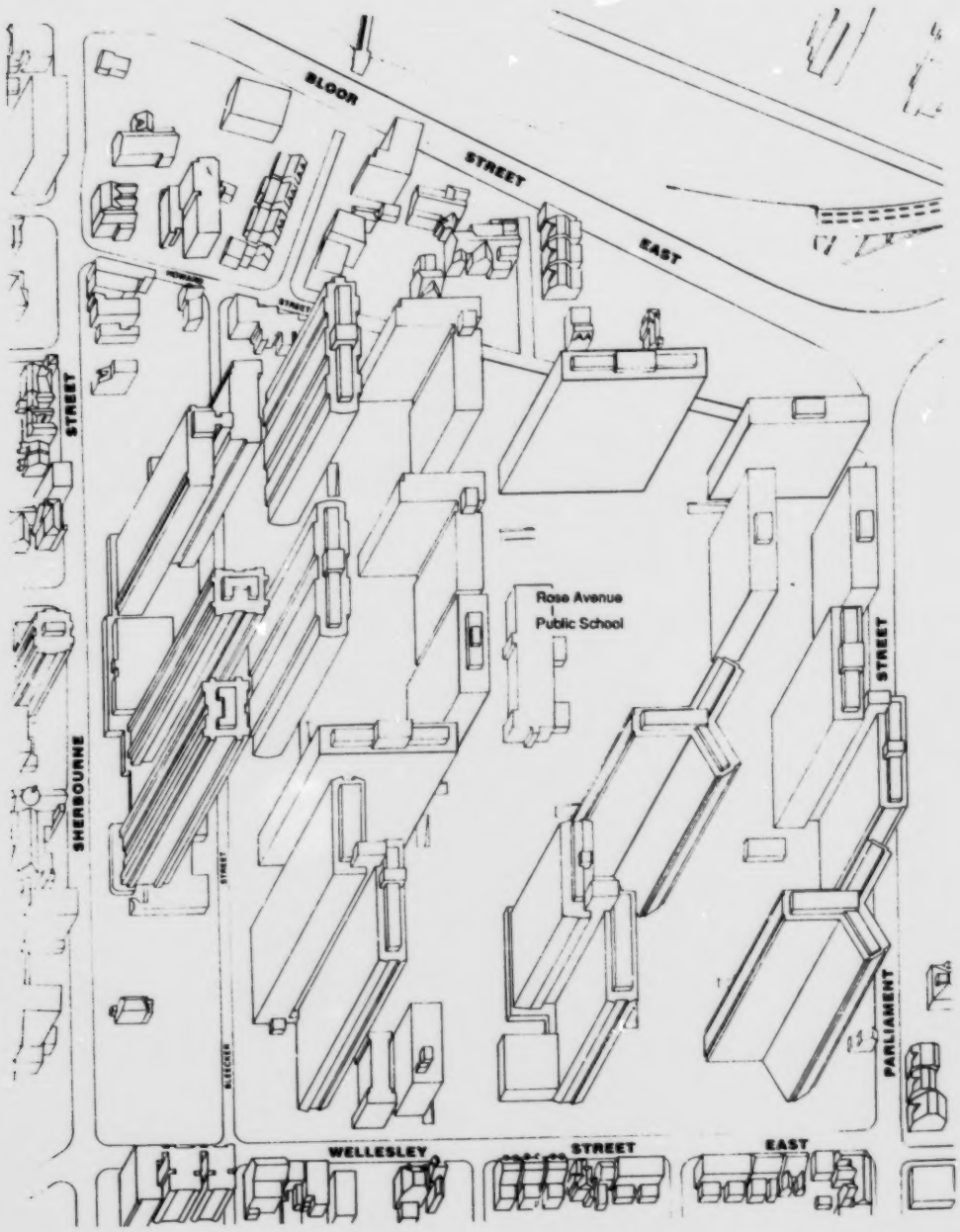
Social and Recreational Services – Social and recreational services also appear to be inadequate for a neighbourhood of over 12,000 people. While the Service Providers' Network has recently established a site office staffed by youth workers, counsellors and case workers from several different social service agencies, much more than this will be needed to meet the increasingly diverse set of needs expressed by tenants.

Potential Displacement – We estimate that the enforcement of housing codes related to crowding could displace over 10% of the current tenants in St. James Town, most of them low-income families with no other affordable housing options available to them in the City.

Similarly, while the 15 high-rise buildings east of Bleeker Street are all clearly in need of rehabilitation, the cost of these improvements to the private market housing could be passed on to tenants causing rents to increase. This, in turn, could displace or create extreme economic hardship for many of the current tenants in the neighbourhood.

Conclusion – The revitalization of St. James Town could have disastrous effects on low-income households currently living in the private market housing in the neighbourhood. Unless anti-displacement policies are put into effect before rehabilitation of the privately-owned buildings begins, many of these households will be forced to move outside of the City or pay well over 30% of their household income on rent.

Figure 1
St. James Town



Introduction

The City of Toronto and senior levels of government have both indicated an interest in preserving the St. James Town neighbourhood as a vital source of affordable inner-city housing. To preserve this housing stock, the buildings and surrounding infrastructure will require extensive rehabilitation. By anticipating the social consequences of this rehabilitation process, it is hoped that policies and plans will be created which will effectively minimize the negative impact of rehabilitation on existing tenants, while at the same time improving the physical and social environment of the neighbourhood.

For purposes of this study, St. James Town is defined as the 18 high-rise apartment buildings in the area bounded by Howard, Parliament, Wellesley and Sherbourne Streets in the City of Toronto, though the condition of the 15 buildings in the original part of the development, between Bleeker and Parliament Streets, is of particular concern (see Figure 1). The neighbourhood contains almost 7,000 apartments in an area of 32.1 acres and houses over 12,000 people, making it the most dense census tract in Canada at approximately 374 persons per acre.

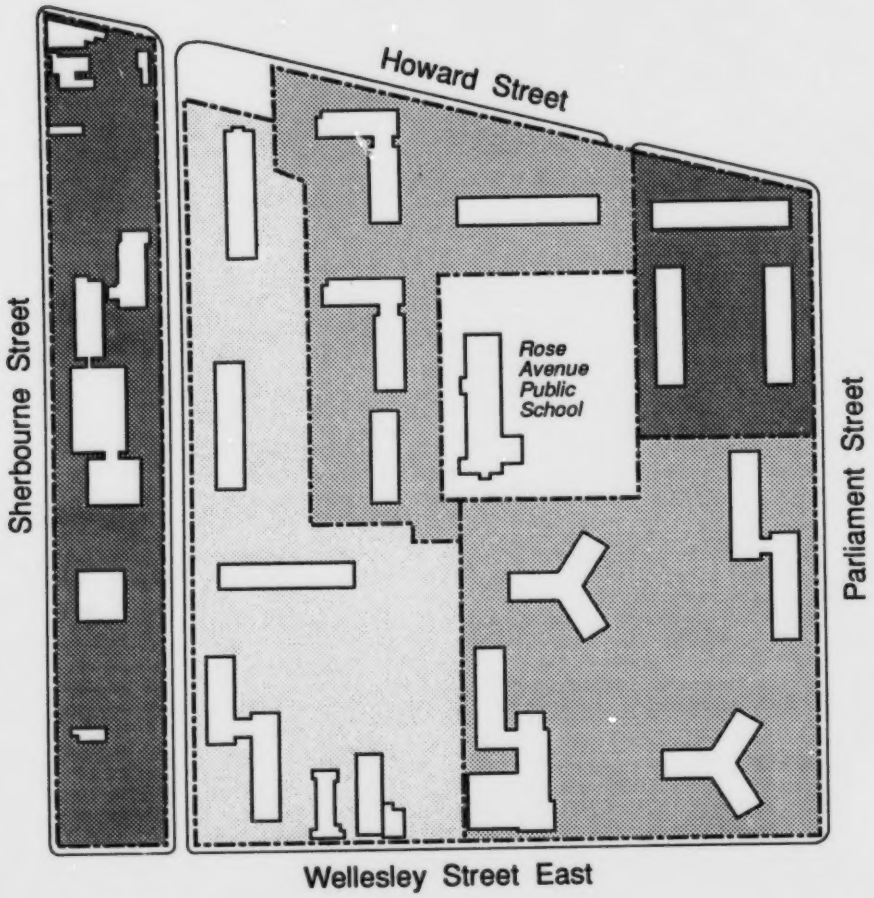
Originally planned in the 1960s as a place for upwardly mobile singles and professional couples, a large portion of the area is now occupied by low and moderate income households including many families, seniors and recent immigrants. The high-rise towers, which were once envisioned as the best of modernism, have now acquired many of the problems associated with high density, low-income housing projects generally.

As a result of these changing conditions and the need to preserve affordable housing in the City, this study was undertaken to evaluate the existing social characteristics of the St. James Town neighbourhood.

This report presents our social evaluation of the St. James Town neighbourhood. It is based on personal interviews with tenants in each of the 18 high-rise buildings in the neighbourhood. (See Appendix A for a detailed description of the study methodology and Appendix B for a copy of the interview format.)* Though the report provides descriptive data about the neighbourhood as a whole, we found striking differences in the responses given by tenants from buildings managed by different property management companies. These differences have been emphasized throughout the study.

* Appendices to the report are available upon request under separate cover,
Appendix A: Survey Methodology
Appendix B: Interview Schedule
Appendix C: Introductory Letter, language assistance cards, and interview flash cards.
Appendix D: Reference

Figure 2
Property Management Companies in St. James Town



Chapter One provides a detailed description of tenants' demographic characteristics and compares this with similar data for the City of Toronto as a whole. Chapter Two describes living conditions and community relations in St. James Town and presents tenants' opinions about a variety of social and physical conditions in the neighbourhood. Chapter Three evaluates social service needs and delivery in the neighbourhood.

Chapter Four, then, examines the potential impact of revitalization on existing tenants based on reported incomes, rents, and the likely economic impacts of rehabilitation. We suggest that unless anti-displacement policies are put into effect before rehabilitation of the privately-owned buildings begins, many of the low-income households currently living in St. James Town will be forced to move, not only out of the neighbourhood, but also out of the City of Toronto.

1

Demographic Comparison with the City of Toronto

Introduction – Although St. James Town can usefully be defined as a single neighbourhood, it is not a single community. St. James Town is a neighbourhood because it is a definable area with an easily recognized image; it is bordered by major arterial roads and it contains 18 high-rise apartment towers.

St. James Town is not a single community, however, because the demographic characteristics of tenants, their interests and concerns, as well as their images of themselves and their surroundings vary significantly from one cluster of buildings to the next. Indeed, there are probably many more distinctions between tenants, and many more distinct communities, than we describe here. However, our analysis of the St. James Town neighbourhood has led us to conceive of the area as 3 large clusters of buildings, each distinguished by a different pair of owners and managers (see Figure 2).

- The largest cluster is a group of eight buildings owned by Meridian Developments and managed by Evergreen Property Management.
- The second largest cluster is a group of six buildings owned by Belmont Construction Company Limited and managed by Belmont Property Management.
- The third cluster is a group of four buildings owned by Ontario Housing Corporation, administered by Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority and managed by Greenwin Property Management.

The individual buildings in each cluster and the number of study participants from each of these buildings are shown in Table 1. Although each of these building clusters contains households of different sizes, with different incomes and ethnic backgrounds, voicing different opinions about living conditions and related issues in the neighbourhood, the differences between these clusters of buildings are consistently more striking than their similarities.

As a result, while this section presents an evaluation of the neighbourhoods' overall social composition and character, we also highlight the many significant differences between these three building clusters. It is these differences which help to pinpoint both the source of particular problems and, consequently, their solutions.

Table 1
Number of Respondents by Building and Management Group

Building Address	Management Group Evergreen	Belmont	MTHA
77 Howard St.	20		
99 Howard St.		12	
135 Rose Ave.		12	
200 Wellesley Ave. E.			38
240 Wellesley Ave. E.	24		
260 Wellesley Ave. E.	22		
280 Wellesley Ave. E.	26		
275 Bleecker St.			19
325 Bleecker St.			14
375 Bleecker St.			14
545 Sherbourne St.		11	
555 Sherbourne St.		13	
565 Sherbourne St.		22	
650 Parliament St..	24		
670 Parliament St.		11	
666 Ontario St.	14		
700 Ontario St.	14		
730 Ontario St.	12		
Total Respondents per Management Firm	**156**	**81**	**85**
Percent of Total	48.4	25.2	26.4

The population in St. James Town has been increasing over the past ten years, while that in the City of Toronto as a whole has declined. The 1986 Census lists the population of the St. James Town census tract as 12,446. This represents an increase of 8.6%

over the 1981-86 period and almost 16% over the 1976-86 period, despite the fact that there has been no new construction in the area. The population of the City of Toronto as a whole, meanwhile, has declined by 3.5% over the 1976-86 period.

Some have also suggested that the population of St. James Town's 18 high-rise buildings alone may be significantly larger than these official figures indicate, despite the fact that the census area includes a number of houses and apartments excluded from this study. Several residents, as well as other observers of the urban scene in Toronto, note that some apartments in the St. James Town neighbourhood are overcrowded with undeclared (or illegal) tenants. Indeed, though we make no attempt to estimate the actual population of the area, our findings confirm the suspicion of overcrowding.

We estimate that roughly 10% of the housing units in St. James Town are overcrowded, i.e. housing more people than permitted by law[1]. We suggest further that this is probably a *low* estimate, based on information provided by tenants about their own personal living conditions (see Table 2), and thus excluding many more who may be reluctant to reveal such information.

Equally important to note is the fact that virtually all of the overcrowding takes place in the private market housing, primarily in the Evergreen buildings.

Table 2
Number of Persons per Household by Apartment Type

Number of Persons	Apartment Type: Bachelor	One Bedroom	Two Bedroom	Three Bedroom	Total %
One	75.0	62.7	7.3	5.3	41.2
Two	16.7	30.1	41.3	15.8	32.1
Three	8.3	4.2	29.4	26.3	14.5
Four		2.4	11.9	31.6	7.2
Five		.6	7.3	15.8	3.8
Six			2.8	5.3	1.3
Percent per Apartment Type	**7.5**	**52.2**	**34.3**	**6.0**	**100.0**

[1] By-law 73-68 section 34 part 1 states that the total floor area of a room used for sleeping divided by 40 equals the maximum number of people who can sleep in that room. Part 2 states that the gross floor area of all habitable rooms divided by 100 equals the maximum number of people who can live in that unit. The by-law defines a room as an area not less than 5 square feet. Our estimate of overcrowding, however, is based on the number of people living in each apartment type, as shown in Table 2, rather than on a calculation of floor area.

A. Household Size and Structure

According to the responses obtained from our survey of tenants in the St. James Town neighbourhood, household sizes in the area are becoming increasingly similar to those in the City as a whole. (See Table 3 below.) The change in size appears to be largely due to the increasing number of families in the neighbourhood. There appear to be not only more families, but more extended families and more children per family than there were even five years ago. As Figure 3 shows, most of these larger families are located in the Evergreen buildings.

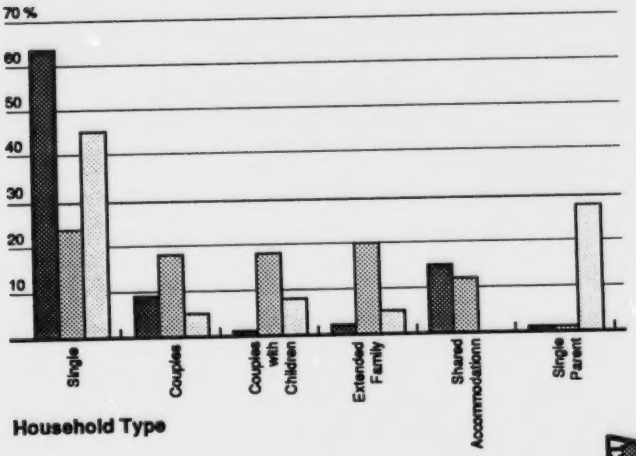
1. Household Size

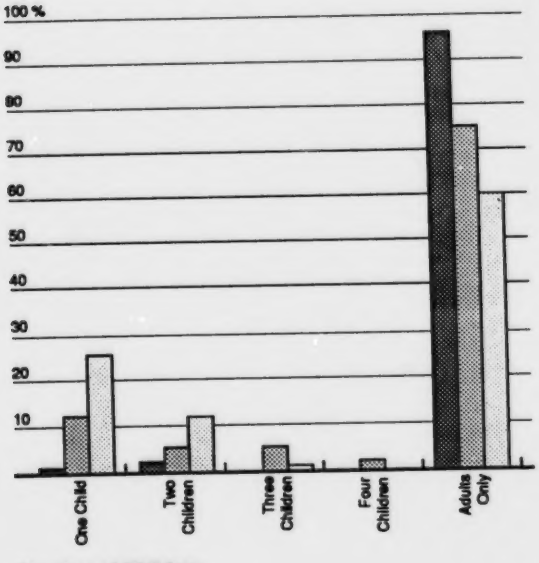
In 1981, the census indicated that over half of the households in the neighbourhood contained only one person. Now, we estimate, the average household in St. James Town contains 2 people, while the City average is 2.4 persons per household. Households containing three, four or more persons are also increasing. If our respondents are representative, and we believe that they are, there has been a significant increase in household sizes in St. James Town in the past five years.

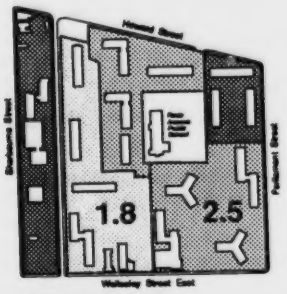
Table 3
Comparison of Household Size: St. James Town and City of Toronto

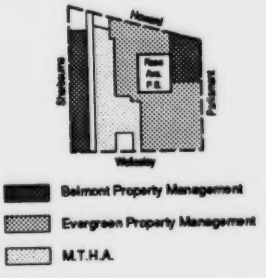
Number of Persons per Household	St. James Town 1981 %	1987 %	City of Toronto 1981 %	1986 %
One	54.4	41.2	37.5	37.4
Two	30.0	32.1	27.3	28.5
Three	9.1	14.5	12.7	13.3
Four and Five	5.7	11.0	17.0	16.5
Six or more	0.8	1.3	5.5	4.4
Total	**100.0**	**100.1**	**100.0**	**100.1**

Figure 3
Household Structures in St. James Town









The number of persons per household also varied significantly from one building cluster to the next. As Table 4 shows, the largest households tend to live in the Evergreen buildings, while households in the Belmont buildings tend to be the smallest.

Table 4
Comparison of Number of Persons per Household by Building Cluster

Persons per Household	Building Cluster Evergreen	Belmont	MTHA	Total (%)
One	26.9	63.0	45.9	41.0
Two	33.3	28.4	31.8	31.7
Three	19.2	7.4	12.9	14.6
Four	10.3	1.2	8.2	7.5
Five	7.7			3.7
Six	2.6			1.2
Total (%)	**100.0**	**100.0**	**98.8**	**99.7**

2. Household Type

Originally planned almost exclusively for singles and couples, St. James Town is housing an increasing proportion of families. As Table 5 shows, both single-parent families and extended families appear more common in St. James Town than in the City of Toronto as a whole.

Table 5
Comparison of Household Type: St. James Town and the City of Toronto

Household Type	St. James Town 1987 Survey	City of Toronto 1986 Census
Single Person	41.0	37.4
Double (no children)	13.0	17.6
Extended Family	13.0	8.4
Double with Children	12.1	20.0
Shared Accommodation	10.6	9.9
Single Parent	8.4	6.7
Other or No Answer	1.8	
Totals	**99.9%**	**100.0%**

While these statistics present a picture of the neighbourhood as a whole, the households in the three different building clusters are remarkably different. The majority of tenants in the Belmont buildings are single-person households, with some couples and some shared accommodation. Tenants in the Evergreen buildings, on the other hand, reflect almost the whole spectrum of household types, with extended families almost as common as single-person households. MTHA households are different still, with most being single-person households or single-parent families.

In the Evergreen buildings:

- Only 26% of the tenants interviewed described themselves as living in a single-person household.
- 22% described themselves as extended families.
- 19% of the households said they were couples without children.
- 19% said they were couples with children.
- 14% described themselves as sharing accommodation.
- Less than 1% of the households in the Evergreen buildings described themselves as single-parent households.

In the Belmont buildings:

- 64% of the households described themselves as living in a single-person household.
- 16 % describe themselves as sharing accommodation.
- 10% described themselves as couples without children.
- 4% said they were living in an extended family.
- 2% described themselves as couples with children.
- 2% described themselves as "other" households. Interviewers noted that these were most often gay couples, either with or without children.
- 1% said they were single-parent households.

In the MTHA buildings:

- 46% of MTHA tenants interviewed said they were living in a single- person household.
- 29% described themselves as single-parent households.
- 9% said they were couples with children.
- 6% said they were couples without children.
- 6% said they lived in an extended family.
- None described themselves as sharing accommodation, though 4% refused to answer this question and interviewers suspected that these tenants might be sharing accommodation with other unauthorized residents.

3. Number of Children

Almost one quarter of the households we interviewed in St. James Town contained children. (See Table 6.) In Toronto as a whole, just over one third of all households contain children. Though the St. James Town neighbourhood and its high-rise apartment towers were not conceived or designed for families with children, families are apparently locating here in increasing proportions.

While the numbers of children per household are generally smaller in St. James Town than in the City as a whole, there has been an apparently significant increase in the number of households with children since 1981, when only 18% of the households in the neighbourhood contained children.

The proportion of households with children, as well as the numbers of children in these households varies rather dramatically from one cluster of buildings to the next. MTHA tenants are the most likely to have children at home, and though this is usually

only one child, some say they have as many as three. Evergreen tenants are the next most likely to have children, though the number of children is just as likely to be more than one than only one, and some families say they have as many as four children living at home. Belmont tenants are the least likely to have children and none said that they had more than 2 children.

Table 6
Comparison of the Proportion of Households Containing Children: St. James Town and the City of Toronto

Number of Children in Household	St. James Town	City of Toronto
One	13.0	15.4
Two	6.5	11.9
Three	2.5	4.8
Four	0.9	1.2
Five or more	0.0	1.6
Total Households containing Children	**22.9%**	**34.9%**

In the MTHA buildings:

- 40% of the households interviewed said they had children living at home.
- 26% of the households said they had one child living at home.
- 13% said they had two children living at home.
- 1% said they had three children living at home.

In the Evergreen buildings:

- 24% of the households interviewed said they had children living at home.
- 12% of the households said they had one child living at home.
- 5% said they had two children living at home.
- 5% said they had three children living at home.
- 2% said they had four children living at home.

In the Belmont buildings:

- Only 4% of the households in the Belmont buildings said they had children living at home.
- 2% said they had one child living at home.
- 2% said they had two children living at home.

4. Ages of Children

Though the numbers of children in St. James Town are increasing, there are still fewer per household than in the City as a whole, and they tend to be younger children than the City-wide profile, as well.

As noted earlier, these children are concentrated in the Evergreen and MTHA buildings. The only noticeable difference in the ages of children living in Evergreen, as opposed to MTHA, buildings is that the former have a slightly larger proportion of 15 to 19 year olds and the latter of 5 to 9 year olds.

Table 7
Comparison of the Ages of Children: St. James Town and the City of Toronto

Ages of Children	St. James Town	City of Toronto
0–4	7.1	5.4
5–9	4.6	5.6
10–14	3.8	4.6
15–19	2.1	5.9
Children as proportion of total population	**16.6%**	**20.4%**

As shown, our study found a higher proportion of preschool children living in St. James Town than in the City of Toronto as a whole. There is some discrepancy between our findings, however, and the 1986 assessment statistics for St. James Town. The assessment data is similar to ours for children between 5 and 19 years of age (9%), but much lower for children 4 years old or younger (4%, compared with our finding of 7%). Therefore, while our findings for the older age cohorts are confirmed, our finding that there is a higher proportion of pre-school children living in St. James Town than in the City as a whole, must remain speculative until confirmed or refuted by other data.

B. Ethnic Mix

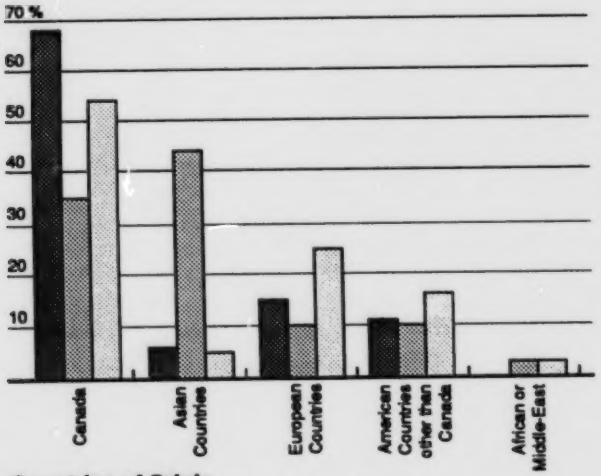
St. James Town is sometimes referred to as an "immigrant reception area." This implies that many new immigrants are finding accommodation in the St. James Town neighbourhood and either staying or moving on to other neighbourhoods in the City or Metro as they become more settled.

The neighbourhood does have a higher proportion of foreign-born tenants than the City as a whole. The 1981 census indicated that 50% of the household-heads in St. James Town were foreign-born, compared with 43% for the City of Toronto as a whole. In addition, this proportion appears to have increased slightly over the past 6 years, with 52% of those we interviewed indicating that they were foreign-born.

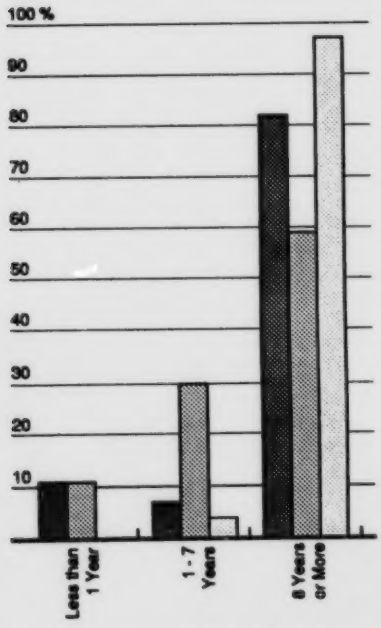
However, there are quite striking differences between building clusters as shown in Figure 4. The characterization of the neighbourhood as an "immigrant reception area" appears to be much truer for the Evergreen buildings than for either the Belmont or the MTHA buildings. Tenants in the Evergreen buildings are much more likely to be foreign-born than tenants in either of the other building clusters. Moreover, we estimate that about one quarter of the Evergreen tenants are recent immigrants to Canada, having arrived since 1981, while only about 5% of the tenants in the other buildings are recent immigrants.

Figure 4

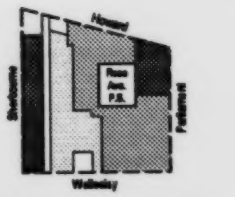
Ethnic Mix in St. James Town



Countries of Origin



Length of Residence in Canada



Belmont Property Management

Evergreen Property Management

M.T.H.A.

1. Language

Almost three quarters of the households we interviewed in St. James Town said English is the language they speak at home most often. For the City of Toronto as a whole, however, only two thirds claim English as their mother tongue. Some of this difference may be explained by the fact that immigrants, whose mother tongue is a language other than English, may speak English at home, especially if they have lived in Canada for many years.

As Table 8 shows, however, even in 1981 the proportion of households claiming English as their mother tongue was greater in St. James Town than in the City as a whole. Thus, while the proportion of households claiming English as their mother tongue has increased throughout the City in the past 5 years, St. James Town appears to house a higher proportion of English speakers than the City of Toronto as a whole.

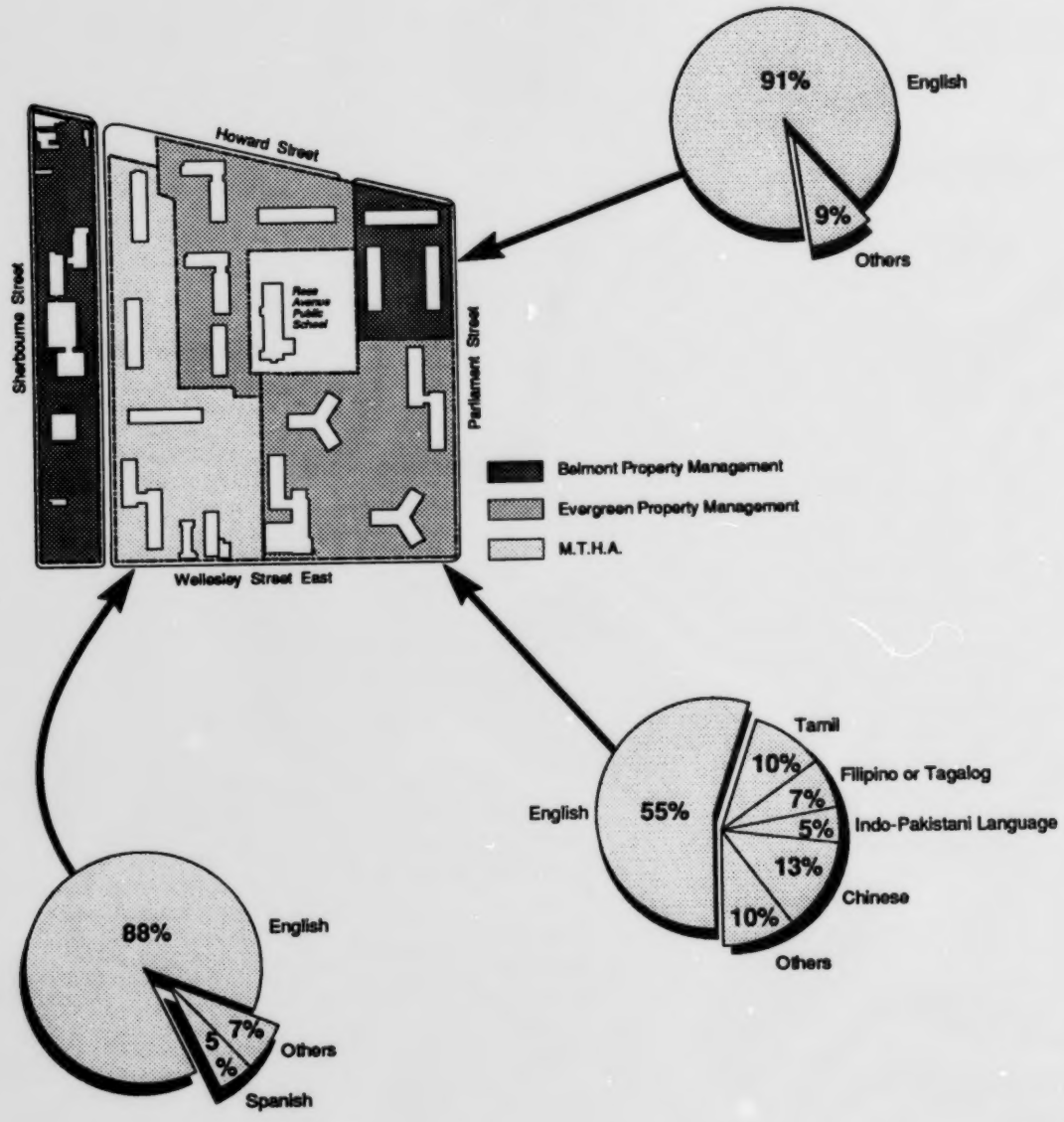
Table 8
Comparison of Languages Spoken at Home Most Often: St. James Town and the City of Toronto

Language	St. James Town 1981	St. James Town 1987	City of Toronto 1981	City of Toronto 1987
English	65.7	72.7	62.1	65.5
Chinese	6.6	6.5	4.6	5.8
Tamil	n/a	5.0	n/a	n/a
Filipino/Tagalog	3.9	4.0	0.7	0.5
Indo-Pakistani	2.8	2.4	0.8	0.2*
Spanish	2.2	1.9	1.1	1.2
Other Languages	18.8	7.5	30.7	26.8
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

n/a – no statistics available

* the 1986 census lists Punjabi only (at 0.2%), though many other dialects including Hindi, Urdu and Oujarati have been included among the Indo-Pakistani languages in the other categories.

Figure 5
Language Spoken at Home



While English is the language spoken at home most often in St. James Town, several other languages also appear somewhat more common than in the City of Toronto generally. Chinese, for example, is the second most frequently spoken language in St. James Town and is spoken by many Vietnamese as well as Chinese immigrants. Tamil appears to be the third most common language in the neighbourhood, though there are no comparable statistics for the City as a whole and no previous statistics for St. James Town. Languages of the Philippines are the fourth most common and Indo-Pakistani languages the fifth. Spanish is also common, though apparently less so than 5 years ago.

The remainder of households we interviewed in St. James Town spoke at least 15 other languages or dialects. These included, in order of their frequency, French, Dutch, Hungarian, Italian, Vietnamese, German, Greek, Indonesian, Korean, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian and Yugoslav or Serbo Croatian.

The languages spoken most often by households in St. James Town varied significantly from one cluster of buildings to another. English was most common among tenants in the Belmont and MTHA buildings (91% and 88%, respectively) though a significant proportion of MTHA tenants also spoke Spanish (5%). While English was also spoken by just over half of the tenants in the Evergreen buildings (55%), Asian languages were spoken by over one third, including Chinese (13%), Tamil (10%), Filipino or Tagalog (7%) and Indo-Pakistani languages (5%).

2. Country of Origin

Just under one half of the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town were born in Canada. The largest proportion of foreign-born tenants originated in Asian countries, with Southern and Eastern Asian countries more common birth places than those in Northern Asia. European countries were the second most common followed closely by countries in the American continents. (See Table 9.)

Table 9
Comparison of Respondents' Region of Origin By Building Cluster

Region of Origin	Building Cluster			Total (%)
	Evergreen	Belmont	MTHA	
Canada	35.7	68.8	54.8	49.1
Southern Asia	20.8		1.2	10.4
East Indies	10.4	3.8	1.2	6.3
U.K.	3.9	1.3	14.3	6.0
West Indies	3.2	3.8	8.3	4.7
Western Europe	1.9	8.8	4.8	4.4
South-East Asia	7.8	1.3		4.1
Eastern Europe	3.2	3.8	4.8	3.8
South America	5.2	1.3	2.4	3.5
Northern Asia	3.9	1.3	1.2	2.5
U.S.A.	.6	6.3	2.4	2.5
Central America	1.3		2.4	1.3
Middle East	1.3		2.4	1.3
Africa	.6			.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Just under one quarter of the tenants in St. James Town were born in Asia. 10% were from Southern Asia, including Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan. 7% were from South-east Asia, including Vietnam and Kampuchea. 4% were from the East Indies, including the Philippines, Indonesia and Singapore and 2% were from Northern Asia, including Hong Kong, Korea, China and Japan.

About 14% of the tenants we interviewed were born in Europe. 6% were from the U.K. 4% were from Western Europe, including Germany, France, Holland, Italy, Greece, Spain, Denmark and Malta and 4% were from Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

Approximately 12% of the tenants were born in the Americas (excluding Canada). 5% were from the West Indies, including Jamaica, Trinidad, the Bahamas and Bermuda. 3% were from the U.S.A. 3% were from South America, including Guyana, Ecuador, Argentina and Uruguay and 1% were from Central America, including Mexico and El Salvador.

Only 1% of the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town were born in Africa or the Middle East. Their countries of origin included Nigeria, Turkey, Iran and Cyprus.

As noted earlier, however, tenants' countries of origin were significantly different from one building clusters to the next. As Table 9 shows, Evergreen tenants had the most diverse backgrounds of any of the building clusters in St. James Town, with only 35% of the tenants we interviewed having been born in Canada and 43% coming from Asian countries. Another 10% of the Evergreen tenants came from American countries (most of these from South America and the West Indies), 9% came from European countries and 2% came from African or Middle Eastern countries.

MTHA tenants had the second most diverse backgrounds. 54% of MTHA tenants we interviewed were born in Canada, making them appear to resemble the City as a whole better than any other building cluster in the neighbourhood. 24% came from European countries, most of these from the U.K. Another 16% came from American countries (half of these from the West Indies) and only 6% came from Asian countries or the Middle East.

Tenants in the Belmont buildings had the least diverse ethnic backgrounds. Here 69% of the tenants we interviewed were born in Canada. 14% came from European countries, 11% from American countries (most of these from the U.S. and the West Indies) and only 6% came from Asian countries.

3. Length of Residence in Canada

Almost 10% of the foreign-born tenants we interviewed in St. James Town arrived in Canada during the past year. Almost one third (29%) have arrived since 1981. Nonetheless, close to 60% have lived in Canada for more than 10 years and some have been here more than 75 years.

Table 10
Length of Residence in Canada by Building Cluster (foreign-born tenants only)

Period of Arrival in Canada	Building Cluster Evergreen (%)	Belmont (%)	MTHA (%)	Total (%)
1987	11.1	10.7		8.5
1982-86	30.3	7.1	2.6	20.0
1965-81	49.5	61.2	47.4	50.9
1945-64	9.1	21.4	28.9	15.8
Before 1945			21.1	4.8
Proportion of Total	**60.0**	**17.0**	**23.0**	**100.0**

Again, the length of time that foreign-born tenants have lived in Canada varied significantly by building cluster. As Table 10 shows, foreign-born tenants in the MTHA buildings tend to have lived in Canada longest, while those in the Evergreen buildings appear to be the most recent immigrants.

If one considers these statistics in the context of the total population of St. James Town, then, about one quarter of the households we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings were relatively recent immigrants to Canada (since 1981) and over another quarter were immigrants who had "settled" in Canada for more than ten years. In contrast, only 6% of the households we interviewed in the Belmont buildings and only 5% of the households we interviewed in the MTHA buildings were recent immigrants, while over a quarter of the Belmont tenants and 40% of the MTHA tenants were immigrants who had "settled" in Canada for more than ten years. The MTHA figures appear to reflect the low rates of turnover and vacancy in MTHA housing projects, in general, and the fact that most MTHA tenants are long-term residents regardless of where they were born.

C. Household Income

The amounts and sources of income for households in the St. James Town neighbourhood are strikingly varied, reflecting not only the mix of public and private market housing in the area, but also the diversity of tenants living in the private market housing. See Figure 5.

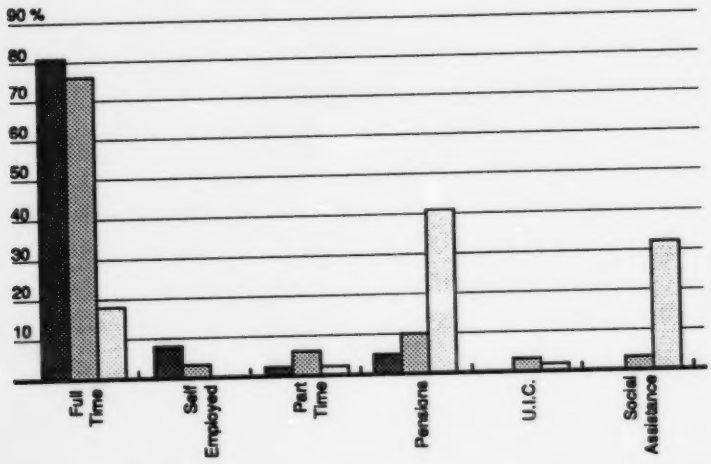
Household incomes among tenants in the MTHA buildings, not surprisingly, tend to come primarily from pensions and other social assistance programs. Tenants in these buildings reported household incomes for 1986 ranging from less than $2,000 to about $20,000, though most said their income was between $6,000 and $10,000.

Total Household Income (1986)

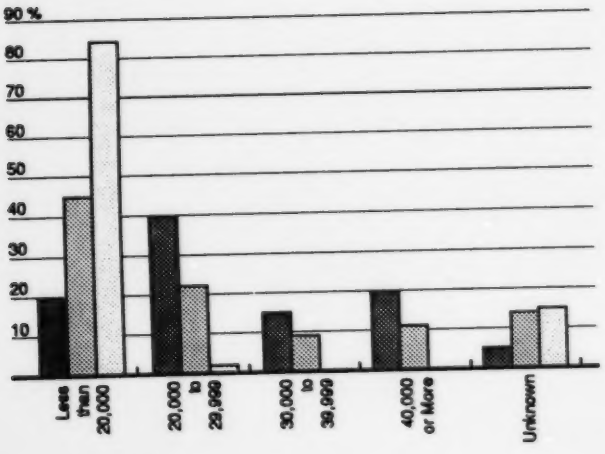
A.	Less than $2,000
B.	$2,000 – 3,999
C.	$4,000 – 5,999
D.	$6,000 – 9,999
E.	$10,000 – 14,999
F.	$15,000 – 19,999
G.	$20,000 – 24,999
H.	$25,000 – 29,999
J.	$30,000 – 39,999
K.	$40,000 or more

Household incomes among tenants in the private market buildings tend to come from employment and over three quarters of the tenants we interviewed in these buildings said they had full-time jobs. Amounts of household income for 1986, however, tended to be very different for Evergreen and Belmont tenants, despite their similar ranges of income. Thus, while incomes in the private market housing ranged from less than $6,000 to over $40,000, most Evergreen tenants said their income was in the range of $15,000 to $20,000, while most Belmont tenants said their income was in the range of $20,000 or more.

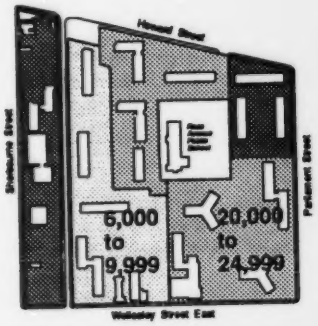
Figure 6
Household Incomes in St. James Town



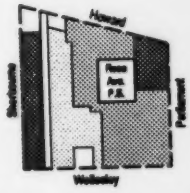
Source of Income



Amount of Income



Average Household Income



Belmont Property Management

Evergreen Property Management

M.T.H.A.

1. Sources of Income

The main sources of household income for 1986 among the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town were as follows:

- 69% of the tenants said their primary source of income came from employment. 62% said they had full-time jobs and just over 3% each said they had part-time jobs or were self-employed.
- 28% of the tenants said they received some type of income assistance. 17% said they received a pension, 9% said they received social assistance, such as family benefits, and 2% said they received unemployment insurance benefits (UIC).

Not surprisingly, there were striking differences between the public and private market housing clusters. While the majority of tenants in the private market housing said that they had full-time jobs, the majority of MTHA tenants said they received pensions or social assistance.

There were also significant differences between the private housing clusters, however. Tenants in the Belmont buildings appeared to be more likely to be employed (and more likely to be self-employed or to have full-time jobs) than Evergreen tenants.

In the Belmont buildings, only 6% of the tenants we interviewed claimed to be receiving some type of income assistance and all of these said they received pensions. The other 92% said they were employed and the vast majority of these (81%) said they had full-time jobs. Only 9% said they were self-employed and only 2% said they had part-time jobs.

In the Evergreen buildings, in contrast, 14% of the tenants interviewed said they received income assistance: 10% said they received pensions, 3% said they were on UIC and 2% said they received some other type of social assistance, such as family benefits. The other 83% of the tenants said they were employed: 76% said they had full-time jobs, almost 5% said they had part-time jobs and 3% said they were self-employed.

In the MTHA buildings, three quarters of the tenants we interviewed said they received some type of income assistance: 42% said they received pensions, 31% said they received social assistance and 2% said they received UIC. The other 20% of the MTHA tenants said they were employed: 18% said they had full-time jobs and 2% said they had part-time jobs. None reported being self-employed.

2. Amount of Income

Almost half of the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town had total household incomes (before taxes or deductions) of less than $20,000 in 1986.

Table 11
Comparison of Total Income by Building Cluster

Category of Income	Building Cluster Evergreen (%)	Belmont (%)	MTHA (%)	Total (%)
Less than $2,000			1.2	.3
$2,000 to 3,999			4.7	1.2
$4,000 to 5,999	1.3	1.2	5.9	2.5
$6,000 to 9,999	5.8		42.4	14.0
$10,000 to 14,999	13.5	3.7	20.0	12.7
$15,000 to 19,999	23.1	14.8	9.4	17.4
$20,000 to 24,999	13.5	18.5	1.2	11.5
$25,000 to 29,999	9.0	21.0		9.6
$30,000 to 39,999	9.0	14.8		8.1
$40,000 or more	10.9	19.8		10.2
No answer	8.3	4.9	8.2	7.5
Do not know	5.8	1.2	7.1	5.0
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Almost 20% had household incomes under $10,000 and 30% had household incomes between $10,000 and $19,999. Approximately another quarter of the households in the neighbourhood said they had incomes between $20,000 and $29,999, 8% had incomes between $30,000 and $39,999 and 10% said they had made $40,000 or more in 1986. Another 8% of the tenants declined to reveal their 1986 household income and 5% said that they did not know what this amount was. (See Table 11.)

The household incomes of tenants we interviewed also varied significantly, and not surprisingly, between the private market and public housing, as well as between the Evergreen and Belmont building clusters. As one would expect, the tenants in the MTHA buildings tended to have substantially lower incomes than tenants in the private market buildings. Similarly, tenants in the Evergreen buildings tended to have lower incomes than tenants in the Belmont buildings.

In the Belmont buildings, 20% of the tenants we interviewed said that their household income was less than $20,000 in 1986 and most of these had incomes between $15,000 and $19,999. 40% said that their household income was between $20,000 and $29,999, 15% said that their household income was between $30,000 and $39,999 and 20% said that they had earned $40,000 or more in 1986.

In the Evergreen buildings, 44% of the tenants we interviewed said that their household income was less than $20,000 in 1986 and many of these had incomes below $15,000. 22% said that their household income was between $20,000 and $29,999, though most of these were incomes below $25,000. Another 20% said that their household income was $30,000 or more in 1986 and approximately 14% said that they did not know or would not say what their household income was.

In the MTHA buildings, 83% of the tenants we interviewed said that their total household income was less than $20,000 in 1986 and the vast majority of these said that their income was less than $10,000. Only 1% said that their income was between $20,000 and $24,999, though another 15% said that they did not know or would not say what their household income was.

Based on the data provided by tenants, we estimate that the average income category (or mean) for each building cluster was:

- $6000 to $9999 for MTHA households;
- $20,000 to $24,999 for Evergreen households; and
- $25,000 to $29,999 for Belmont households.

2

Living Conditions and Community Relations

As we have noted, tenants living in the MTHA, Evergreen and Belmont buildings are quite different from one another in terms of their demographic characteristics. The condition of the buildings they live in and their relations with management are also different. These differences are reflected in many of the tenants' patterns of behaviour, attitudes and concerns in relation to the neighbourhood.

Many of the tenants we interviewed in the Belmont buildings repeatedly and forcefully stated that they did not live in St. James Town. They tend to view themselves as separate both physically and socially. Belmont tenants tend to have lived in the neighbourhood the shortest length of time and tend to go outside of the area most often. Most say they are not attached to the community, though many say they would like to be more involved than they are now. None of the Belmont tenants we interviewed had ever attended a meeting of any tenants' organization in the neighbourhood and only one claimed to be involved in some other type of community group in the area, though many say they are active outside St. James Town. Belmont tenants also tended to be significantly more satisfied with their living conditions and significantly less concerned about security and race relations than other tenants.

Tenants we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings tended to describe themselves as more attached to the community than tenants in the other two building clusters. A greater proportion of these tenants also indicated an interest in becoming more involved in the neighbourhood than in the other clusters. Evergreen tenants were the most likely to be dissatisfied with their living conditions, particularly with the condition of buildings and with tenant-management relations. They were the most likely to be concerned about security, the majority describing it as poor or very poor, and also the most likely to be concerned with race relations in the neighbourhood.

MTHA households tended to have lived in the St. James Town neighbourhood longest and to go outside the area least. While MTHA tenants were apparently the most likely to join tenants' organizations or other community groups within the neighbourhood, there seemed to be little general attachment to the community and little interest in becoming more involved. The MTHA tenants we interviewed were also very concerned about security, race relations and the condition of buildings, though somewhat less so than tenants in the Evergreen buildings.

A. COMMUNITY ATTACHMENTS

Tenants' attachment to St. James Town can be attachments to the neighbourhood or the community. The former suggests an attachment to the place, whether this stems from having occupied the same apartment for many years, becoming accustomed to the location and its easy access to downtown or some other physical attribute of the area. Attachment to the community, in contrast, suggests an involvement with and commitment to one's neighbours. Both can be important sources of satisfaction with living in St. James Town.

1. Length of Residence

Length of residence in a neighbourhood can be one indicator of residents' attachment to the community or area. Banks often use 3 years as a measure of residential stability when making decisions about potential borrowers. Anyone having lived in the same place for more than 3 years is considered a stable resident. By the same token, then, one might describe a neighbourhood as a stable residential environment if the majority of residents have lived in the area for more than 3 years.

Table 12
Length of Residence in St. James Town by Building Cluster

Length of Residence	Building Cluster			
	Evergreen (%)	Belmont (%)	MTHA (%)	Total (%)
Less than 1 year	8.3	19.8	4.7	10.2
1–3 years	45.4	44.4	22.4	39.1
4–10 years	30.7	30.9	33.0	31.4
More than 10 years	15.3	4.9	40.3	19.4

By this measure, the St. James Town neighbourhood cannot be characterized either as a stable or unstable residential environment because roughly half of the tenants appear to have lived in the neighbourhood for over 3 years.

Differences between building clusters were significant, however, as Table 12 indicates. MTHA households tend to have lived in the neighbourhood significantly longer, while Belmont households tend to have lived in the area for significantly shorter periods of time.

2. Feelings of Attachment

Roughly half of the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town said they are not very attached to the community or not attached at all. One quarter said they feel somewhat attached, while another quarter said they feel attached or very attached.

While the differences between the responses of tenants in the various building clusters were not enormous, they were significant. As Figure 6 shows, tenants in the Evergreen buildings tend to express more attachment to the community than tenants in either of the other building clusters.

In the Evergreen buildings:

- 7% of the tenants we interviewed said they were very attached to the community in St. James Town.
- 26% said they were attached to the community.
- 26% said they were somewhat attached.
- 19% said they were not very attached.
- 22% said they were not attached at all.

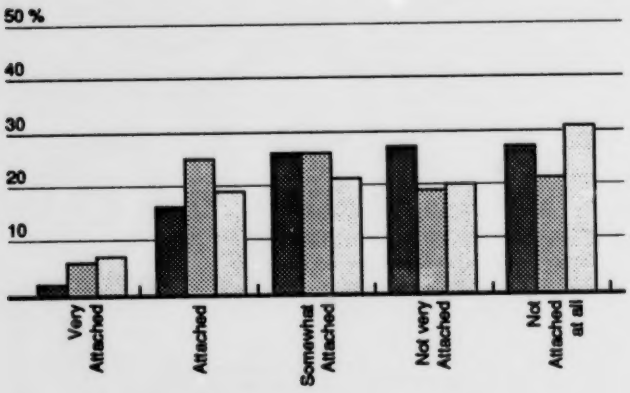
In the Belmont buildings:

- 2% of the tenants we interviewed said that they were very attached to the community in the neighbourhood.
- 15% said they were attached to the community.
- 26% said they were somewhat attached.
- 28% said they were not very attached.
- 28% said they were not attached at all.

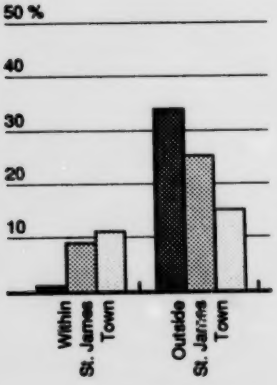
In the MTHA buildings:

- 8% of the tenants we interviewed said that they were very attached to the community in St. James Town.
- 17% said they were attached to the community.
- 22% said they were somewhat attached.
- 21% said they were not very attached.
- 31% said they were not attached at all.

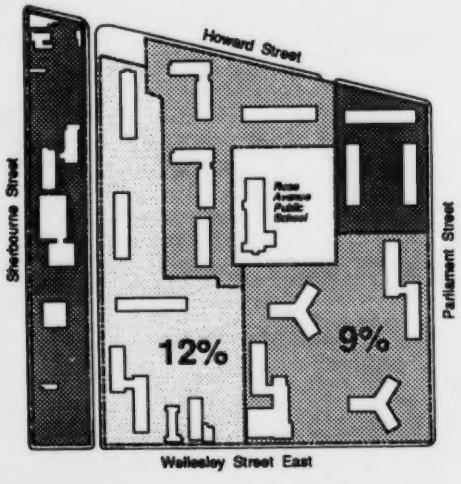
Figure 7
Community Participation



Community Attachment



Belonged to Other Community Group



Attended Tenants' Organization

Asked if they would like to be more or less involved than they are now, almost three quarters of the households we interviewed in the neighbourhood said they didn't want to be any more or less involved in the community than they are now. Almost one quarter, however, said they would like to be more involved, while less than 5% said they would like to be less involved than they are now.

The pattern of responses from tenants in both private market housing clusters followed this overall neighbourhood pattern fairly closely. Only the MTHA tenants showed a significantly lower interest in getting more involved. However, it is also important to note that MTHA tenants were the most likely to say that they were already involved (see section 4 below).

3. Relation to the City and Metro

About two thirds of the tenants we interviewed said that they go outside of the St. James Town neighbourhood every day to work, shop or visit. Another quarter said that they go outside of the neighbourhood at least once a week. However, some tenants said that they leave the neighbourhood only about once a month and some say that they never leave the immediate area at all.

Moreover, if we examine tenants' relationship with the City and Metro by building cluster, we note striking differences, not so much between all groups, but between tenants in the public, as opposed to the private market, housing

Table 13
Frequency of Trips Outside St. James Town by Building Cluster

Frequency of Trips	Building Cluster Evergreen (%)	Belmont (%)	MTHA (%)	Total (%)
Every day	73.1	76.5	30.6	62.7
At least once/week	17.9	18.5	41.2	24.2
At least once/month	7.1	2.5	14.1	7.8
Never	1.9	2.5	14.2	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

Interviewers noted that most of the tenants who said they did not leave the neighbourhood at any time were seniors. The greater proportion of pensioners in the MTHA buildings is thus reflected in the greater proportion of MTHA tenants who say they rarely or never leave the area.

Similarly, tenants we interviewed in the private market housing were at least twice as likely to be employed as MTHA tenants. This is reflected in the greater proportion of Evergreen and Belmont tenants who are leaving the area on a daily basis, usually to go to work.

4. Tenants' Organizations

Roughly half of the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town did not know whether their building had a tenants' organization or not. Almost one third (30%) thought that there was such a group in their building and 22% thought that there wasn't. Within any and every single building there seemed to be some confusion about whether a tenants' organization existed or not.

Tenants' confusion is not that surprising when one considers the fact that our researchers were unable to ascertain how many such organizations currently exist in St. James Town. Several years ago, when the St. James Town Council was organized, there appears to have been an organizing blitz with relatively independent tenants' organizations in several buildings contributing members to the centralized Council. While the Council continues to operate, most of these other organizations seem to have disappeared, at least temporarily.

Despite the ephemeral character of many tenants' organizations in St. James Town, residents' participation in any past or current such organizations can be indicative of their commitment to the neighbourhood. Thus, while only 7% of the tenants that we interviewed in the neighbourhood said they had attended at least one meeting of a tenants' organization, there was considerable difference between the responses of tenants in the different building clusters.

As shown in Figure 6, 12% of the tenants we interviewed in the MTHA buildings and 9% of those we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings said that they had attended at least one meeting of a tenants' organization in their building. In contrast, none of the tenants we interviewed in the Belmont buildings had ever attended a tenants' organization meeting.

5. Other Community Organizations

Almost one third (31%) of the tenants in St. James Town said they belonged to a community organization other than a tenants' group, such as a social club, church group or parent-teacher organization. The vast majority of these said they belonged to a group that was outside of St. James Town.

While there was some difference between the MTHA tenants' and the private market tenants' tendency to belong to an organization, even the Evergreen and Belmont tenants' patterns diverged when asked the location of their community activities.

In the MTHA buildings, one quarter of the tenants we interviewed said they belonged to a community organization other than a tenants' group. Though 15% said they belonged to an organization outside St. James Town, 11% said they belonged to a group within St. James Town.

In the Evergreen buildings, one third of the tenants we interviewed said they belonged to a community organization other than a tenants' group. 24% said they belonged to an organization outside St. James Town and 8% said they belonged to a group within St. James Town.

In the Belmont buildings, again, one third of the tenants we interviewed said they belonged to a community organization other than a tenants' group. Here, however, virtually all said they belonged to a group outside of St. James Town and only 1% said they belonged to a group within St. James Town.

When those who said they belonged to a community group were asked how often they participated in the activities of their group, most said at least once a week and there was virtually no difference between the responses of tenants in the different building clusters.

B. SOURCES OF SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION

Most of the tenants we interviewed claimed to be at least somewhat satisfied with living conditions in St. James Town, though there was considerable variation and marked difference between the responses of tenants in the different building clusters. Most said they liked the location and cost of accommodation in St. James Town and disliked the condition of buildings and the apparent preponderance of crime. Tenants' concerns about security in the neighbourhood surfaced again and again in different contexts, as did complaints about management practices.

1. Satisfaction with Living Conditions

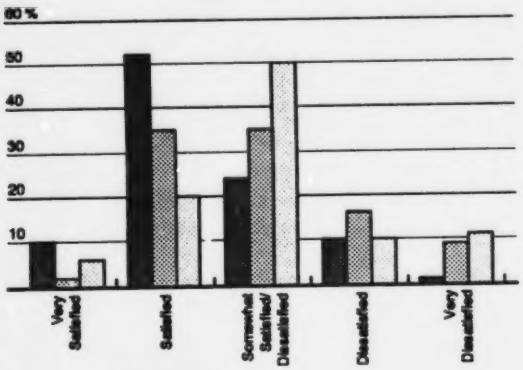
While most tenants claimed to be satisfied or at least somewhat satisfied and somewhat dissatisfied with living conditions in St. James Town, there were significant differences in the responses received from tenants in the different building clusters.

Tenants in the Belmont buildings appeared to be the most satisfied with their living conditions, with well over half of the respondents indicating that they were satisfied or very satisfied. In contrast, the majority of Evergreen and MTHA tenants we interviewed appeared indifferent, i.e. neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with living conditions, though Evergreen fared somewhat better on this scale than MTHA.

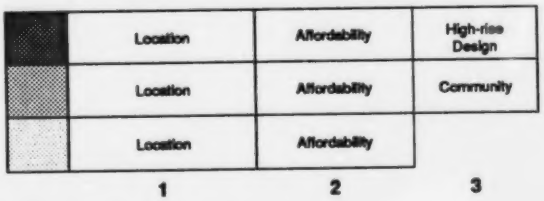
Table 14
Comparison of Respondents' Satisfaction with Living Conditions By Building Cluster

Degree of Satisfaction	Building Cluster Evergreen (%)	Belmont (%)	MTHA (%)	Total (%)
Very satisfied	2.6	11.1	7.1	5.9
Satisfied	35.9	51.9	20.0	35.7
Satisfied/Dissatisfied	37.2	24.7	50.6	37.5
Dissatisfied	14.7	11.1	10.6	12.7
Very dissatisfied	9.0	1.2	11.8	7.8
No answer	.6			0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

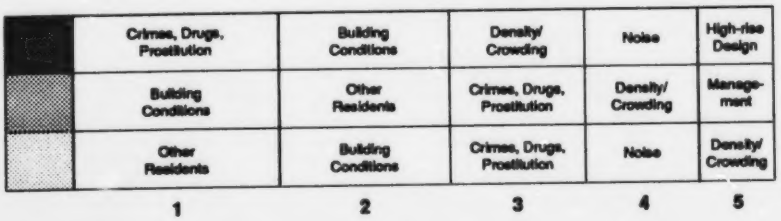
Figure 8
Satisfaction with Living Conditions



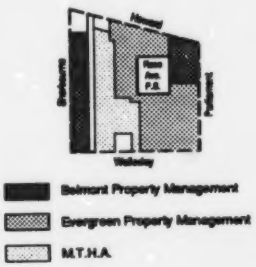
Degree of Satisfaction



What Tenants Like Most



What Tenants Dislike Most



2. Neighbourhood Features Liked Most

Tenants were asked what they liked most about living in the St. James Town neighbourhood. Two responses to this question could be recorded for each participant in the study. The resulting statistics, therefore, reflect the proportion of tenants mentioning that particular neighbourhood attribute.

Not surprisingly, most tenants mentioned the location of the neighbourhood as one of the features they liked most. Liking the downtown area or the accessibility of stores and services was included in this category. About one third mentioned liking the cost or affordability of rents in the neighbourhood. Some mentioned liking the community or the proximity to friends or relatives and some said they liked the "quiet" or the high-rise design of the neighbourhood. About 1% of the tenants we interviewed said they liked "nothing."

Table 15
Rank of Neighbourhood Features Tenants Liked Most by Building Cluster[a]

Evergreen	Belmont	MTHA
Location (86%)	Location (96%)	Location (75%)
Cost (41%)	Cost (33%)	Cost (27%)
Community (12%)	Design (12%)	(No consensus)

[a]– Only responses given by more than 10% of the tenants in that building cluster are shown here.

While tenants in the various building clusters tended to rank location and affordability as the neighbourhood features they liked most, the proportion of tenants mentioning these was somewhat different from one group to the next. Belmont tenants mentioned location more often than tenants in the other buildings and many also mentioned liking the high-rise design of the neighbourhood. Evergreen tenants mentioned the affordability of the housing more often than other tenants and many also commented that they liked the proximity to friends and relatives in the community.

3. Neighbourhood Features Disliked Most

Tenants were also asked what they disliked most about living in the St. James Town neighbourhood. Again, two responses were possible for each of the study participants.

Half of the tenants (48%) we interviewed mentioned the condition of buildings in the neighbourhood as one of the features they disliked most. Almost one third (29%) mentioned disliking the crime, drug trade or prostitution in the neighbourhood. 27% men-

tioned disliking the behaviour of other tenants. 16% mentioned disliking the density. 12% dislike the noise. 9% mentioned disliking the management, and 13% mentioned disliking various other aspects of the neighbourhood such as its design, the lack of services, the rent or the downtown area, in general. 5% said that they disliked "nothing."

As always, there were a number of significant differences between building clusters. These are displayed in rank order in Figure 7.

As Table 16 shows, MTHA tenants appeared to be most concerned about the behaviour of their neighbours and the condition of their building. Interviewers noted that the complaints about other tenants were usually concerns about loitering, vandalism, noise, littering, unsupervised children and drug dealing.

Table 16
Rank of Neighbourhood Features Tenants Disliked Most by Building Cluster

Evergreen	Belmont	MTHA
Building conditions (59%)	Crime, drugs, prostitution (40%	Other residents (49%)
Other residents (24%)	Building conditions (36%)	Building conditions (40%)
Crime, drugs, prostitution (18%)	Density/crowding (23%)	Crime, drugs, prostitution (38%)
Density/crowding (15%)	Noise (19%)	Noise (15%)
Management (12%)	High-rise design (16%)	Density/crowding (9%)

While some of these same types of concerns were shared by Evergreen households, these tenants were much more concerned about the condition of their building. Also, interviewers noted that complaints about other tenants tended to be concerns about overcrowding or the mix of different cultural groups.

While crime appears to be the major concern of the Belmont tenants, this reflects the concern of tenants living on Sherbourne Street much more than those in the older Belmont buildings. Interviewers noted that there were complaints about prostitution in the area surrounding the Sherbourne Street buildings. In contrast, complaints about building conditions were much more common among the tenants in the older Belmont buildings. Also, unlike the MTHA and Evergreen buildings, there were virtually no complaints about other tenants.

4. Plans to Move

Tenants' concerns about the St. James Town neighbourhood were reiterated by those who were planning to move. 10% of the households we interviewed were planning to move out of the neighbourhood in the next 6 months. However, only 4% of the tenants in the Belmont buildings and 8% of those in the MTHA buildings, compared with 15% of those in the Evergreen buildings, said they were planning to move.

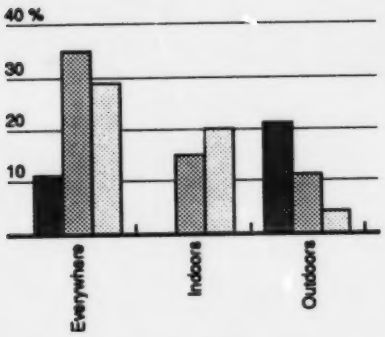
Tenants reasons for moving were varied. Reasons mentioned by more than 2% of the tenants are ranked below in the order of their frequency in each of the building clusters.

Table 17
Rank of "Reasons for Moving Out" of St. James Town by Building Cluster

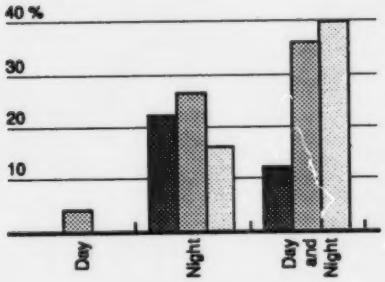
Evergreen	Belmont	MTHA
Condition of buildings	Apartment is too small	Dislike other tenants
Dislike other tenants		Condition of buildings
Can afford better		Density of neighbourhood
Apartment is too small		Can afford better
Change in family structure		

Tenants in the Evergreen and MTHA buildings gave various reasons for moving, but most of these implied criticism of the neighbourhood's physical or social conditions. In contrast, Belmont tenants tended to say they were moving because of the size of their apartment, rather than its condition or because of other conditions in the neighbourhood.

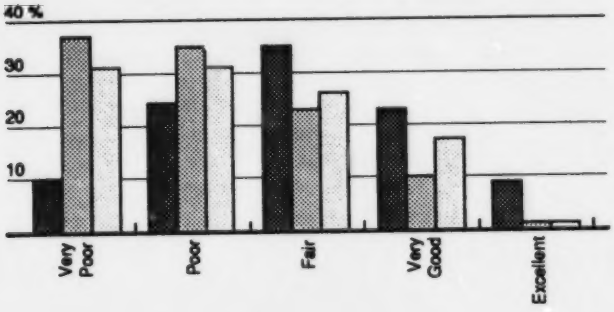
Figure 9
Security



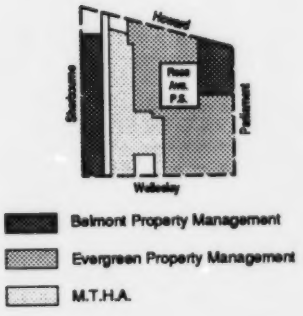
Where Security is a Problem



When Security is a Problem



Description of Security



5. Security

Security and personal safety appeared to be a major concern for many tenants in the neighbourhood. Over half of the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town described security as poor or very poor (32% and 21%, respectively). Over another quarter (28%) described security as fair and less than one fifth of the respondents described it as very good or excellent (16% and 3%, respectively).

As Figure 8 shows, examining tenants' descriptions of security by building cluster reveals significant differences between the perceptions of tenants in different clusters of buildings. Tenants in the Belmont buildings appeared to be the most satisfied with security, while tenants in the Evergreen buildings appeared to be the least satisfied.

In the Evergreen buildings, two thirds of the tenants we interviewed described security as poor or very poor (36% and 27%, respectively). Another quarter described security as fair, while very few described it as very good or excellent (11% and 1%, respectively).

In the MTHA buildings, just over half of the tenants we interviewed described security as poor or very poor (32% and 22%, respectively). 27% described it as fair and less than one fifth described it as very good or excellent (18% and 1%, respectively).

In the Belmont buildings, only one third of the tenants we interviewed described security as poor or very poor (23% and 10%, respectively). The other two thirds were fairly evenly divided between describing it as fair (35%) or as very good to excellent (32% total or 23% and 9%, respectively).

Among those who described security as poor or very poor, just over half said the problem was "everywhere," as opposed to specific places in their building or neighbourhood. This represents 28% of the total sample, though tenants in different building clusters, once again, gave significantly different responses.

Among the households we interviewed, 36% of the Evergreen tenants and 29% of the MTHA tenants said that security was a problem everywhere, compared to 11% of the tenants in the Belmont buildings.

Other tenants specified places where they thought security or personal safety was a particular problem. Most said that these problems were concentrated inside apartment buildings, primarily at building entrances, in elevators, underground parking garages, stairwells, hallways and laundry rooms. Some said that problems were concentrated outside on streets and paths or particularly in the core of the neighbourhood.

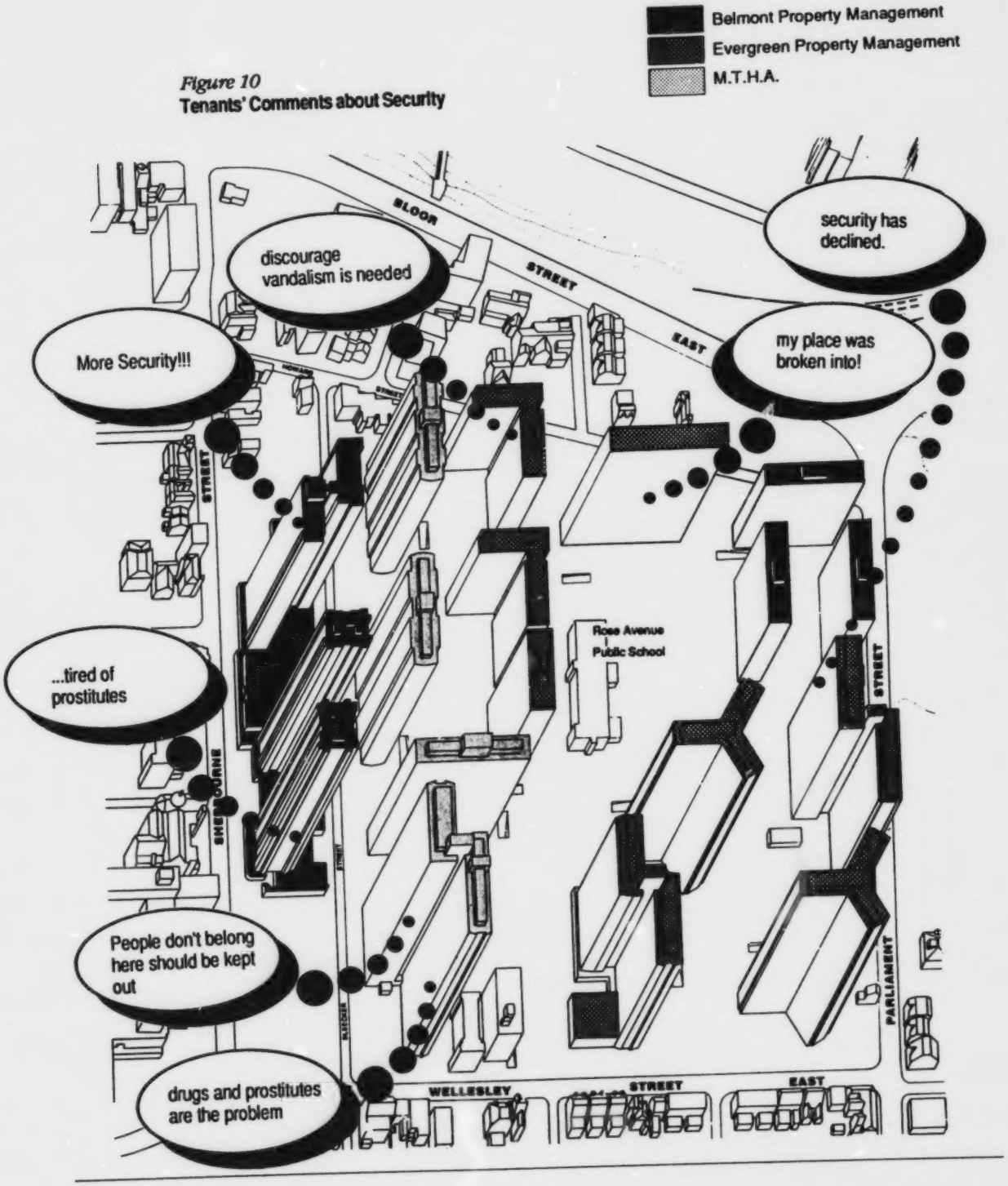
In the Evergreen buildings, over one quarter of the tenants we interviewed specified places where they felt security was a special problem. Parking garages, building entrances and elevators were the most commonly mentioned, though 12% also felt security was a special problem outside.

One quarter of the MTHA tenants we interviewed also specified places where they felt security was a special problem. Elevators, building entrances and laundry rooms were the most commonly mentioned and only 4% said security was a special problem outside.

In the Belmont buildings, less than one quarter of the tenants we interviewed specified places where they felt security was a special problem. The vast majority of these said that problems were concentrated outside on the street or in the centre of the neighbourhood, rather than on the periphery where the Belmont buildings are located.

Asked if security and personal safety were a problem at particular times, almost one third (31%) of the respondents said they considered security to be a problem both day and night. 21% felt that security, and personal safety in particular, was a problem primarily at night. 2% felt that security was a problem primarily during the day, i.e. these tenants were particularly concerned about apartment break-ins.

Figure 10
Tenants' Comments about Security



As always, there were significant differences between building clusters. While tenants interviewed in the Evergreen buildings most frequently said that they were concerned about security both day and night, 3% said they were concerned about security primarily during the day. Many of these tenants said that articles had disappeared from their apartment during the day and with no visible sign of a break-in. Some suspected management or maintenance staff, while others suspected former tenants or other current tenants in their building, any of whom might have a duplicate key.

In the MTHA buildings, the tenants we interviewed also most frequently expressed concerns about security both day and night, though none said they were particularly concerned during the day. In contrast, tenants in the Belmont buildings most frequently expressed concerns about security at night and, again, none expressed a particular concern during the day.

6. Racial and Ethnic Relations

Two thirds of the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town said that they have never seen, heard or experienced any hostility in the neighbourhood that they would interpret as being racially or ethnically motivated. Given the varying ethnic background of tenants in the different building clusters, however, it is not surprising that the proportion of tenants reporting having had such experiences varied according to which cluster they lived in.

In the Evergreen buildings, one third of the tenants we interviewed said that they had seen, heard or experienced racial or ethnic hostility in St. James Town and almost one third of these said they had experienced this type of hostility first hand. Another 6% were either unsure or unwilling to answer.

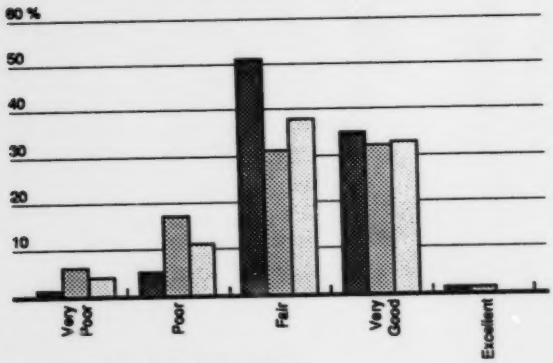
In the MTHA buildings, one quarter of the tenants we interviewed said that they had seen, heard or experienced racial or ethnic hostility in the neighbourhood and about half of these said the experience was first hand. Another 10% were either unsure or unwilling to answer.Figure 11 Ethnic RelationsIn the Belmont buildings, only 12% of the tenants we interviewed said that they had seen, heard or experienced racial or ethnic hostility in the neighbourhood and none claimed to have experienced this type of hostility first hand. Another 9% were unsure.

Tenants were also asked to describe general ethnic and race relations in the neighbourhood and, as one would expect, a similar pattern emerged. Though few described these relations as excellent, most felt they were fair or very good. Only 12% described these relations as poor and only 4% as very poor, though another 10% said either that they did not know or did not want to say.

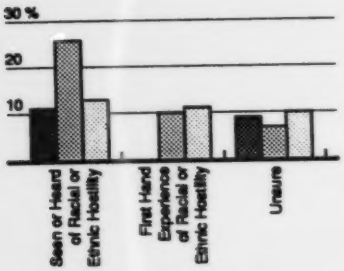
Figure 11
Ethnic Relations

	Lack of Education	Unemployment or Stress	Lack of Tolerance	Racism or Bigotry	
	Specific Racial or Ethnic Group	Cultural Mix	Lack of Tolerance	Unemployment or Stress	Racism or Bigotry
	Specific Racial or Ethnic Group	Unemployment or Stress	Lack of Tolerance		
	1	2	3	4	5

Common Explanations of Hostility



Describtion of Ethnic Relations



Experience of Ethnic Hostility

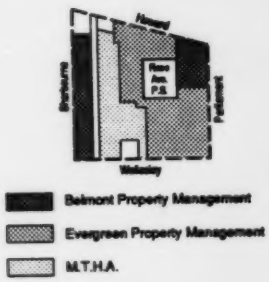


Table 18
Comparison Of Respondents' Description of Race Relations By Building Cluster

Description of Relationship	Building Cluster Evergreen (%)	Belmont (%)	MTHA (%)	Total (%)
Excellent	1.9	2.5		1.6
Very good	32.7	35.8	34.1	33.8
Fair	32.1	50.6	37.6	38.2
Poor	16.7	4.9	10.6	12.1
Very poor	6.4	1.2	3.5	4.3
No answer	1.9	1.2	7.1	3.1
Do not know	8.3	3.7	7.1	6.8
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Belmont tenants tended to describe race relations in the most favourable light, with almost 90% of these respondents saying race relations in St. James Town were fair or better. Evergreen and MTHA tenants tended to judge these relations less favourably, with almost one quarter of the Evergreen respondents describing race relations as poor or very poor.

When those who labeled ethnic or race relations in the neighbourhood as fair, poor or very poor were asked what they thought was the biggest cause of these tensions, about half emphasized lack of education or tolerance, racism, unemployment or other stresses. Roughly a third gave responses which tended to "blame the victim," i.e. specific ethnic or racial groups were singled out for blame by some, though the mix of cultures and immigration policy were also blamed.

Here again, striking differences were observed in the pattern of responses from tenants in different building clusters. These are presented below in rank order. (Only those responses mentioned by more than 5% of the tenants in a building cluster are listed here.)

Table 19
Rank of "Reasons for Racial Tension" in St. James Town by Building Cluster

Evergreen	Belmont	MTHA
Specific racial or ethnic group (12%)	Lack of education (12%)	Specific racial or ethnic group (15%)
Mix of different culture (11%)	Unemployment or other stresses (11%)	Unemployment or other stresses (9%)
Lack of tolerance (7%)	Lack of tolerance (10%)	Lack of tolerance (7%)
Unemployment or other stresses (6%)	Racism or bigotry (9%)	
Racism or bigotry (6%)		

Tenants in the Evergreen and MTHA buildings were more likely to accuse specific racial or ethnic groups (usually visible minorities) of causing racial and ethnic tension, than tenants in the Belmont buildings. Common responses in all building clusters, however, were to attribute racial strife to unemployment or to a lack of tolerance on the part of other tenants.

7. Tenant-Management Relations

Descriptions of tenant-management relations in St. James Town vary significantly from one management company to the next. Tenants living in apartment buildings managed by Evergreen Property Management were most likely to describe these relations as poor or very poor, while tenants living in the buildings managed by Belmont Property Management were most likely to describe these relations as very good or excellent.

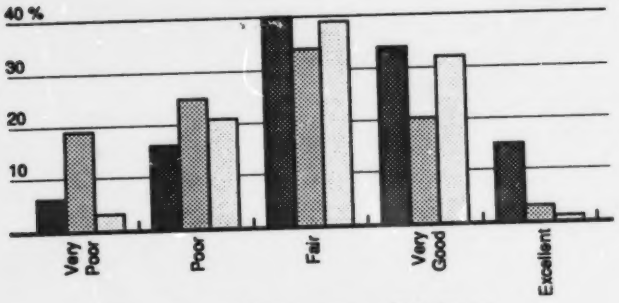
Table 20
Comparison of Respondents' Description of Tenant/Management Relations by Building Cluster

Description of Relationship	Building Clusters Evergreen (%)	Belmont (%)	MTHA (%)	Total (%)
Excellent	2.6	14.8	1.2	5.3
Very good	19.9	33.3	31.8	26.4
Fair	33.3	29.6	38.8	33.9
Poor	23.7	16.0	21.2	21.1
Very poor	19.2	6.2	3.5	11.8
No answer	1.3		3.5	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

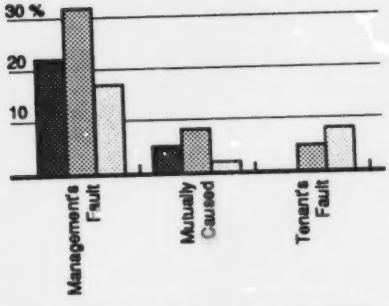
Tenants who said that tenant-management relations were either poor or very poor were asked what they thought was the biggest cause of these problems. Three quarters of these tenants blamed management for these problems, with roughly half indicating that management did not care about or listen to tenants, while the other half felt that management caused these problems by not maintaining the buildings properly.

Some felt the problem was a mutual lack of respect or a communication problem on the part of both management and tenants and a few blamed poor tenant-management relations on other tenants, citing vandalism or tenants' lack of respect for rules regarding crowding, noise and so forth.

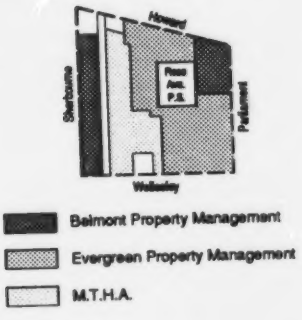
Figure 12
Tenant/ Management Relations



Describtion of Tenant-Management Relations



Common Explanations of Hostility



Different clusters of buildings, however, tended to ascribe responsibility for tenant-management problems somewhat differently.

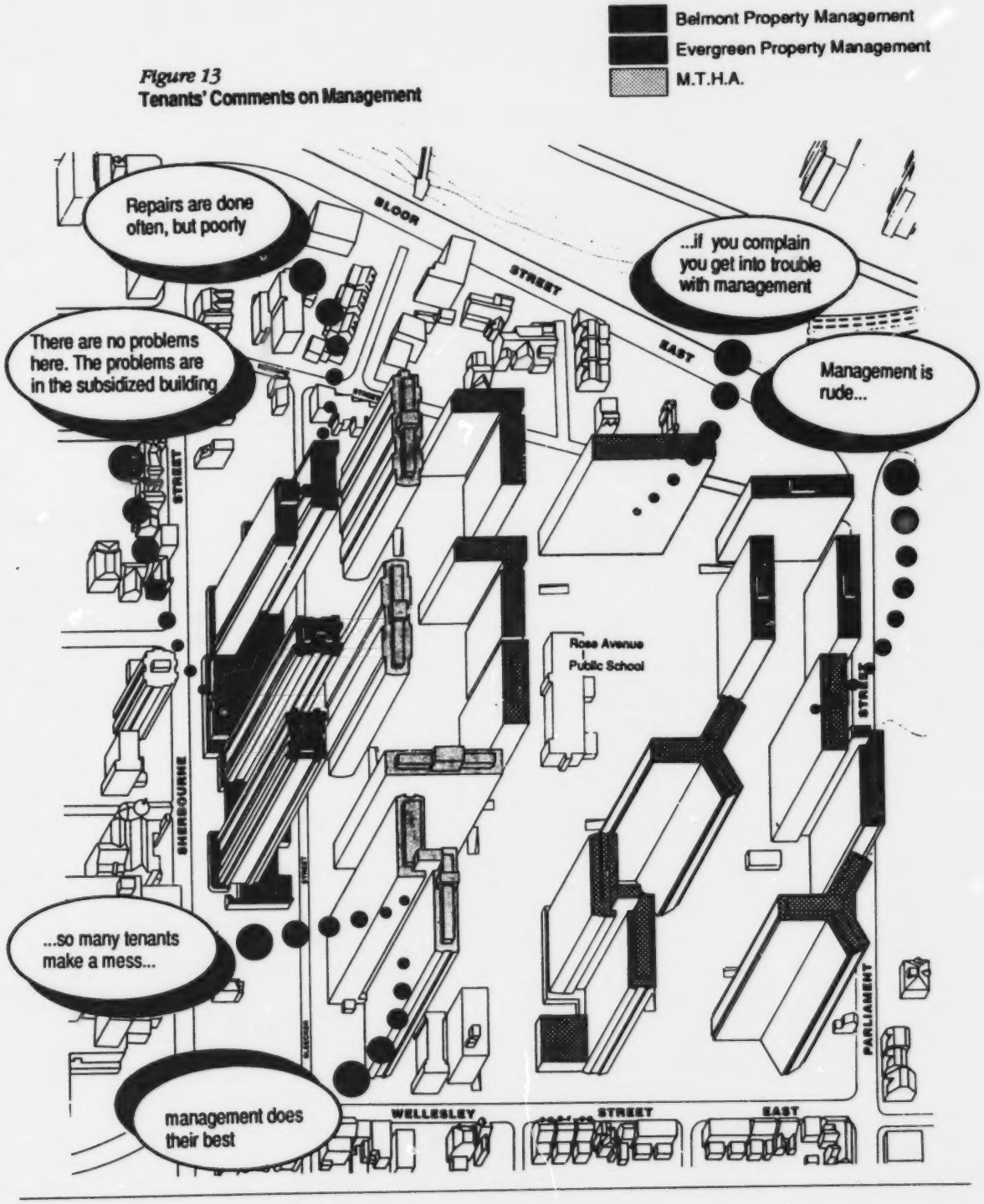
In the Evergreen buildings, one third of the tenants we interviewed blamed management for poor relations with tenants; most saying that management didn't care about tenants or didn't take proper care of the building. Another 8% said poor tenant-management relations were mutually caused and 4% said they were tenants' fault.

In the MTHA buildings (managed by Greenwin), 17% of the tenants we interviewed blamed management for poor relations with tenants and, again, most said that management didn't take proper care of the building or didn't care about tenants. Only 2% said poor tenant-management relations were mutually caused, while 8% said poor relations were tenants' fault.

In the Belmont buildings, 22% of the tenants we interviewed blamed management for poor relations with tenants and most, again, cited a lack of care on the part of management. 5% said poor tenant-management relations were mutually caused, though none blamed tenants alone for these relations.

Tenant-management relations are most problematic in the buildings managed by Evergreen. Many tenants in these buildings expressed anger and frustration over managements' poor maintenance of the buildings and their frequently hostile responses to tenants' complaints.

Figure 13
Tenants' Comments on Management



Interviewers for this study also encountered hostility from Evergreen managers. One interviewer was escorted from the building in which he was conducting interviews to another containing Evergreen's central site office. In the office there were attempts to intimidate him and prevent his finishing the interviews. He was eventually escorted off the property, but returned later to complete the interviews as scheduled.

In contrast, when researchers encountered Belmont managers, and explained the nature of the study, they were met with co-operation. It was Belmont Property Management, in fact, that allowed our interviewers to conduct pretest interviews in their buildings, when Evergreen and MTHA refused.

C. Physical Conditions

At first glance the high-rise buildings in St. James Town all appear very similar. A closer examination reveals a number of important differences, not only from one cluster of buildings to another, as we have described them so far, but also within these clusters.

Buildings in St. James Town differ in the mix of apartments sizes they contain and in the rents charged for these apartments. Buildings also differ in age, design and maintenance standards. Apartment sizes range from bachelors to three-bedroom units, though few buildings contain this entire range. Tenants we interviewed in the private market buildings reported rents ranging from less than $200 to over $900 a month. Observation reveals that the buildings managed by Evergreen tend to be the most poorly maintained buildings in the neighbourhood, though these vary in age and design. The MTHA buildings, managed by Greenwin, appear somewhat better maintained, as there were signs of fresh paint and other maintenance work underway in various places. The Belmont buildings were clearly the best maintained buildings in the neighbourhood, though they vary most in age and design.

Among the buildings managed by Evergreen, the Barbara Apartments are the oldest and most unsightly. Built in 1959 as Limited Dividend buildings under the Federal program, they were poorly constructed and designed then, and they are clearly the most poorly maintained buildings in the neighbourhood now. The six remaining Evergreen buildings were built between 1965 and 1969. Though there are several variations in the design of these buildings, all were originally considered well designed and constructed. Maintenance standards in these buildings appear to vary, though trained observers have described these as generally poor.

Belmont manages two distinct clusters of buildings, one relatively old and one relatively new. The older buildings are the three Rose Park Apartments, which were built in 1964. These buildings are showing signs of aging, but were originally considered well designed and constructed. St. James Town West, the three most recently constructed towers, are on Sherbourne Street and were built in 1976. The two south-

ern towers are the best designed buildings in the area from a "defensible space" perspective, because the small number of units on each floor allows tenants to easily distinguish neighbours from intruders. City planners do not consider these newer buildings to be in need of rehabilitation at this time, though they have been included in this study for comparative purposes.

The four MTHA buildings were built between 1969 and 1970. When first opened, these public housing apartments were considered unique in Canada because of their high quality design and construction. Though maintenance problems appear endemic to public housing projects generally, these buildings appear to be better maintained than many of the private market, and particularly the Limited Dividend, buildings in St. James Town.

1. Apartment Sizes and Rents

There are 6,890 apartments in the 18 highrise buildings in St. James Town. Two thirds of these apartments are bachelor and one-bedroom units. Just over one quarter are two-bedroom and about 5% are three-bedroom units.

Table 21
Apartment Types by Building Cluster

Apartment Type	Building Cluster Evergreen (%)	Belmont (%)	MTHA (%)	Total (%)
Bachelor	13.0	31.4	6.3	16.2
One bedroom	51.9	43.1	54.4	50.2
Two bedroom	27.7	23.8	36.3	28.8
Three bedroom	7.3	1.6	2.9	4.8
Total	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0

Evergreen's 8 buildings contain a total of 3,423 apartments. Though the mix of units in each building varies (the Limited Dividend Barbara Apartments, for example, contain no bachelor units) the overall mix of units resembles the neighbourhood average quite closely.

Belmont's 6 buildings contain a total of 1,792 apartments. While the Belmont buildings have a higher proportion of bachelor apartments than either of the other building clusters, the vast majority of these units are in the newer buildings on Sherbourne Street, where almost half of the units are bachelor apartments. The older Belmont buildings are predominately one-bedroom units.

MTHA's 4 buildings contain a total of 1,674 apartments. Over half of these are one-bedroom units and another third are two-bedroom units, though the mix of units varies from one building to the next.

Rental charges in the private market buildings appeared to vary more by building cluster than by the number of bedrooms in the unit. (MTHA rents are geared to income and were not recorded in this study.)

In the Evergreen buildings, tenants reported rents varying from just under $200 per month to just over $600 per month. Half of these were rents between $350 and $450 per month. 20% were rents of less than $350 and almost 30% were rents of $450 or more per month.

Five percent of the Evergreen households we interviewed said that they received rent subsidies to assist them with shelter costs. 3% were seniors who said they received a subsidy from MTHA and the remainder received family benefits or disability pensions that included a shelter component.

Tenants in the older Belmont buildings (the Rose Park Apartments) reported rents ranging from about $300 to just over $500 per month. Over 80% of these were rents between $300 and $450 per month and 18% were rents of $450 or more. Tenants in these buildings also pay hydro costs in addition to their monthly rents and most said they paid between $10 to $20 per month. Tenants in the newer Belmont buildings (St. James Town West) reported rents ranging from about $350 to over $900 per month. Over half of these were rents between $550 and $700 per month, 20% were rents of less than $550 and 26% were rents of $700 or more per month.

Just over half of the respondents in the private market housing said that their rent had been increased 5.2% in the past year. One quarter said that their rent had not increased or had increased less than this (9% and 15%, respectively). 9% said that their rent had increased more than this and 15% said that they did not know if the rent for their unit had been increased in the past year or not, many indicating that they had not lived there for a full year. No significant differences were found between the buildings managed by the Evergreen and Belmont Property Management companies.

Table 22
Category of Income by Category of Rent (private market buildings only)

Category of Income ($)	Category of Rent ($) 100-199	200-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-699	700-799	800-899	900-999	Total (%)
4,000 - 5,999	33.3				4.4		5.3						2.0
6,000 - 9,999	66.7	16.7	3.6	2.5	4.4	5.9	5.3						5.4
10,000 - 14,999		16.7	21.4	15.0	8.9	5.9	15.8	15.4	4.5				11.7
15,000 - 19,999		33.3	42.7	27.5	20.0	17.6	15.8	30.8	9.1	16.7			22.8
20,000 - 24,999		33.3	17.9	22.5	11.1	11.9	15.8	15.4	27.3	16.7			17.1
25,000 - 29,999			14.3	12.5	17.8	17.6	5.3	7.7	22.7		25.0		13.7
30,000 - 39,999				5.0	20.0	17.6	21.1	7.7	9.1	33.3	25.0	50.0	12.2
40,000 or more				15.0	13.3	23.5	15.8	23.1	27.3	33.3	50.0	50.0	15.1
Percent Respondents per Rent Category	1.5	3.9	13.7	19.5	22.0	8.9	9.3	8.3	10.7	3.2	3.0	1.0	100.0

2. Cars and Parking Charges

One third of the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town had cars. 80% of the tenants who had cars said that they parked their car in an underground garage. 11% said that they parked in a surface parking lot. 6% said that they parked on the street and 1% said that they parked outside of the St. James Town neighbourhood.

Respondents reported charges for parking varying from "no charge" to over $50 per month, though most (38%) said that they paid between $30 and $39 per month. Again, there was significant variation from one building cluster to the next.

In the Evergreen buildings, just over one third of the tenants we interviewed said they had cars. While about 40% of these tenants said they paid between $30 and $40 per month for parking, a wide range of parking charges were reported, varying from less than $20 to more the $50 per month.

In the Belmont buildings, half of the tenants we interviewed said that they had cars. In the Rose Park Apartments, tenants reported paying between $20 and $50 per month, though 90% said they paid between $30 and $40. Tenants in the St. James Town West buildings on Sherbourne Street, on the other hand, reported paying the most for parking at $50 or more per month.

In the MTHA buildings, only 9% of the tenants we interviewed said that they had cars. Most of these tenants said there was "no charge" for parking, though some were unsure and one specified an amount around $35 per month.

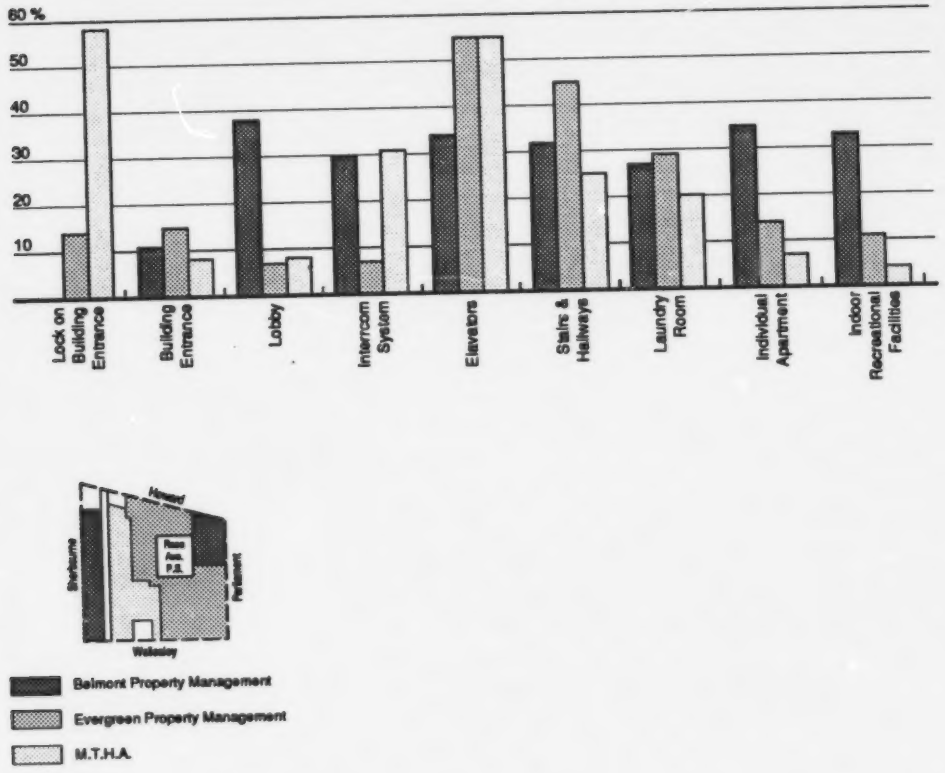
3. Building Conditions

Tenants were asked if the condition of their apartment building needed improvement. If they said yes, they were then asked to identify the three aspects of the building that they felt needed improvement most, as well as the type of improvement they thought was needed. Differences between building clusters was so great that only the disaggregated data is described below. Comments by tenants in the newer Belmont buildings are included in summary form, but not analysed in detail, because these buildings are not included in the neighbourhood improvement plans. (Note that multiple answers result in a total percentage greater than 100%, despite the fact that comments made by less than 5% of the tenants in any particular building cluster have been eliminated here for the sake of clarity.)

In the MTHA buildings, more than half of the tenants we interviewed complained about the lock on the building's entrance, one third complained about the intercom system, and roughly one quarter complained about the maintenance of stairs, hallways and laundryrooms. More specifically:

- 58% of the tenants we interviewed in the MTHA buildings complained about the lock on the building entrance. 39% said the lock was broken, 8% said the lock was never used, while others complained that the key to the building was too easy to duplicate or that security guards were needed at the door.
- 54% complained about elevators. 35% say that repairs were needed, 8% complained that the elevators were too slow, while others suggested better cleaning or better security, and some said that the elevators were put "on service" too early in the morning (i.e. used for freight deliveries or moving, thereby making them inaccessible).
- 32% complained about the intercom system. 24% said it was broken, while others complained about having their name displayed at the building's entrance.
- 26% complained about the stairs and hallways. 9% felt that cleaning was needed and 7% felt repairs were needed. Others were concerned about security and about transients sleeping in the stairwells.

Figure 14
Complaints about Building Conditions



- 22% complained about the laundry room. 9% felt repairs were needed either to the room or to the appliances, 8% felt better cleaning was needed and 5% were concerned about their safety in the laundry room.
- 9% complained about the lobby. 5% felt that the lobby needed cleaning, while others were concerned about security, about people "hanging out" in the lobby or, alternatively, about the lack of seating.
- 9% complained about the building entrance. Most were concerned about security, though some felt repairs were needed.
- 8% complained about the condition of their own apartment. (These complaints will be examined detail in the following section.)
- 5% complained about the indoor recreation facilities. Most said these were closed, though some did not know such facilities existed.

In the Evergreen buildings, over half of the tenants interviewed complained about the elevators, close to one half complained about the maintenance of stairs and hallways and over one quarter complained about laundryroom facilities. More specifically:

- 54% of the tenants we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings complained about the elevators. 40% suggested that they needed repairs and another 8% said they needed cleaning, while others complained that they were too slow or needed lights.
- 43% complained about stairs and hallways. 30% suggested that they needed repairs and another 11% said they needed cleaning. Others were concerned about transients sleeping in the stairwells or about the need for better lighting and better security.
- 28% complained about the laundry room. 14% felt that the room or the appliances needed repairs, 10% felt the room needed better cleaning, while others were concerned about safety or complained that the laundry room was closed when they wanted to use it.
- 15% complained about the building entrance. 6% wanted 24-hour security guards at the door and another 5% felt that repairs were needed. Others complained about having difficulty getting into the building either because doors were hard to open or because doorways were obstructed.
- 14% complained about the condition of their own apartment. (The type of complaint will be dealt with in the following section on improvements to individual apartment units.)
- 13% complained about the lock on the building entrance. 6% complained that the lock was broken and another 4% complained that the lock was never used. Again, some suggested the need for security guards.

- 12% complained about indoor recreation facilities. 8% said that these facilities were closed, while others said they needed repairs and some claimed that no such facilities existed.
- 8% complained that the intercom system was broken.
- 8% complained about the lobby. Most felt it looked shabby and needed either cleaning or repairs, though some commented, again, on the need for security guards or complained about people "hanging out."

15% of tenants in the Evergreen buildings said that no improvements to their apartment building were needed at all. Interviewers noted that many of these responses were from tenants who were recent immigrants to Canada. Two points may help to explain this apparent discrepancy between actual, observed conditions in these buildings and some tenant's perceptions of these conditions, though both are clearly speculative.

First, perceptions are relative. Many immigrants have come from situations where housing conditions were much worse than anything found in Canada. Recent immigrants, therefore, are more likely to perceive conditions in St. James Town in a favourable light than are long-term residents of Canada.

Second, interviewers felt that some tenants, and recent immigrants in particular, were reticent to criticize their living conditions for fear that this would be relayed to the management and lead to their eviction from the building.

In the older Belmont buildings (the Rose Park Apartments), roughly one third of the tenants we interviewed complained about the maintenance of the lobby, the elevators, stairs and hallways and the intercom system. More specifically:

- 37% of the tenants we interviewed in the older Belmont buildings complained about the lobby. 11% felt that repairs were needed, 9% felt cleaning was needed and another 9% felt the lobby just looked shabby. Some also complained that there was no place to sit in the lobby.
- 34% complained about the elevators. 23% said they needed repairs and 6% felt they needed cleaning. Others felt they were too slow. 34% complained about the condition of their own apartment.
- 31% complained about stairs and hallways. 29% felt repairs were needed, while some mentioned the need for better lighting.
- 29% complained about the intercom system. 20% said repairs were needed, some specifying that it was hard to hear people over the intercom.
- 26% complained about the laundry room. 9% said the laundry room needed better cleaning, though some complained that it was closed when they wanted to do laundry and some thought repairs were needed.

- 23% complained about the indoor recreation facilities. 11% said these facilities were closed and 9% said they did not exist.
- 11% complained about the building entrance. Some said repairs were needed, some wanted better security, some said the door was difficult to open or was obstructed and one tenant, in the Rose Avenue building, complained that taxis could not find the entrance because it did not face onto a street.

In the newer Belmont buildings on Sherbourne Street, many of the tenants we interviewed also complained vociferously about the maintenance of elevators and laundry rooms, about security at building entrances and about the cleaning of stairwells and hallways. Though these buildings are newer and currently look much nicer than other buildings in St. James Town, inattention to these types of complaints and concerns will probably result in increasing dissatisfaction on the part of these tenants.

4. Conditions in Individual Apartments

Tenants were asked whether conditions in their individual apartment needed improvement and, if so, what types of improvements were needed most. Again, tenants could list up to three aspects of their apartment which they felt needed improvement. The results from each building cluster are shown below, excluding those responses mentioned by fewer than 10% of the tenants.

In the MTHA buildings, one third of the tenants we interviewed complained about cockroaches or mice and just under one quarter complained about paint and falling plaster. More specifically:

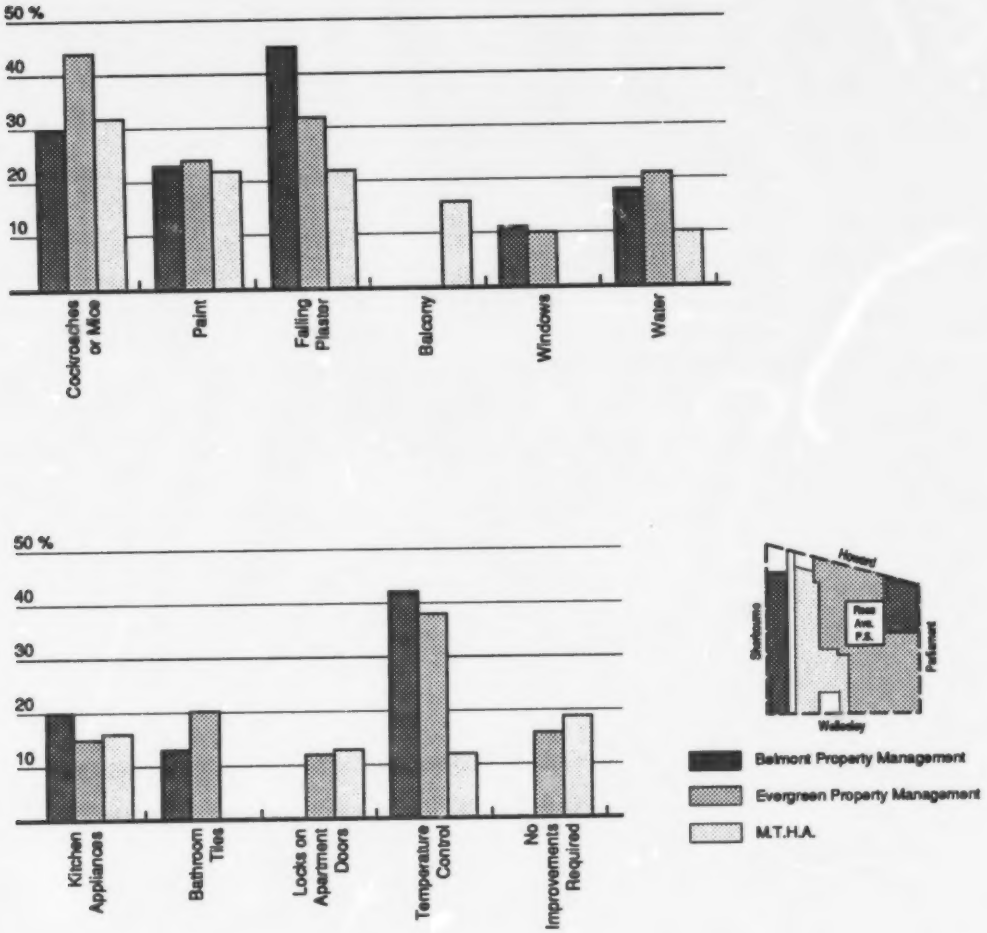
- 33% of the tenants we interviewed in the MTHA buildings complained about cockroaches or mice in their apartment, some noting the need for management to co-ordinate extermination throughout a building at one time.
- 22% complained about paint. 20% said simply that their apartment needed paint, though others complained that they were charged a fee for this and one complained that the paint used in apartments was toxic.
- 21% complained about plaster falling down in their apartment.
- 16% complained about water. 6% complained about the lack of adequate pressure, 5% complained about the need for more hot water and some complained about soap suds coming up the drain.
- 15% complained about their balcony. 7% felt repairs were needed, 6% felt that pigeons (or sometimes neighbours) were making them dirty and some felt that their balcony was not safe for children.
- 14% complained that their kitchen appliances needed repair.

- 11% complained about the lock on their apartment door. 6% complained that their lock was broken or missing. Some were concerned about other tenants having a key to their apartment and some were angry that they were not allowed to have their own personal lock on the door.
- 11% complained that they had no control of the temperature in their apartment (some specifying that it was too cold in winter).
- A surprising 18% said no improvement was needed in their apartment at all.

In the Evergreen buildings, almost half of the tenants we interviewed complained about cockroaches or mice, one third complained about falling plaster and roughly one quarter complained the temperature in their apartment, the need for paint and water temperature or pressure. More specifically:

- 43% of the tenants we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings complained about cockroaches or mice, some specifying the need for management to co-ordinate extermination throughout an entire building.
- 33% complained about plaster falling down in their apartment.
- 26% complained about temperature. 21% said that they had no control of the temperature (some indicating that it was too cold in the winter), while the remainder said that the heating system needed repairs.
- 23% complained about paint. While most simply stated that their apartment needed paint, 3% complained that they were charged a fee for this.Figure 15 Complaints about individual apartments-21% complained about water. 7% complained about the lack of hot water, 6% about the lack of water pressure, 6% said simply that repairs were needed and others complained that the water was frequently shut off without notice.
- 19% complained that bathroom tiling or fixtures needed repair.
- 13% complained that kitchen appliances needed repair or replacement, though some complained about the lack of ventilation in their kitchen.
- 10% complained that windows needed repair.
- 10% complained about the lock on their apartment door. 4% said the lock was broken or missing. Others were concerned about the strength of the lock, about not being allowed to have their own personal lock on the door, or about the possibility that other current or ex-tenants might have a key to their apartment.
- 13% said no improvement was needed.

Figure 15
Complaints about Individual Apartments



In the older Belmont buildings (the Rose Park Apartments), almost half of the tenants we interviewed complained about falling plaster and about the temperature in their apartment. About one third complained about cockroaches or mice and roughly one quarter about paint. More specifically:

- 46% of the tenants we interviewed in the older Belmont buildings complained about plaster falling down in their apartment.
- 40% complained about their inability to control the temperature in their apartment.
- 31% complained about cockroaches or mice.
- 23% complained about paint. 17% said simply that their apartment needed paint, while some complained that they were charged a fee for this and one tenant complained that the paint used in the apartments was toxic.
- 20% complained that kitchen appliances needed repair.
- 17% complained about water. 6% complained about the lack of water pressure, 6% suggested the need for repairs and some complained about soap suds coming up through the drain.
- 11% complained about bathroom tiling or fixtures needing repair.
- 11% complained about windows needing repair.

In the newer Belmont buildings, the tenants we interviewed also complained about the temperature in their apartments, especially in winter, about cockroaches and mice, about the need for more frequent painting, about water pressure and temperature and about the locks on their apartment doors.

5. The Condition of Outdoor Facilities

Tenants were asked whether any outdoor facilities needed improvement and, if so, what kinds of improvements were needed. A substantial proportion (41%) of respondents said no improvements were needed at all. Again, though there were significant differences in the pattern of responses from different building clusters, these were not so great as those involving apartment buildings themselves. Note, too, that tenants could comment on up to 3 different facilities, though only responses given by 10% or more of the tenants in a building cluster are shown here.

In the MTHA buildings, one third of the households we interviewed felt that no improvements to outdoor facilities were needed. About one quarter complained about poor outdoor lighting. More specifically:

- 21% of the MTHA tenants we interviewed complained about outdoor lighting. 14% felt that more lights were needed, while the remainder complained that the existing lights were frequently broken and in need of repair.

- 19% complained about playgrounds. 6% felt that existing playgrounds needed repair. Others felt that more playgrounds were needed, more equipment was needed or that better supervision of the area should be provided.
- 15% complained about landscaping. Most felt that more trees or grass was needed, though others specified the need for better maintenance.

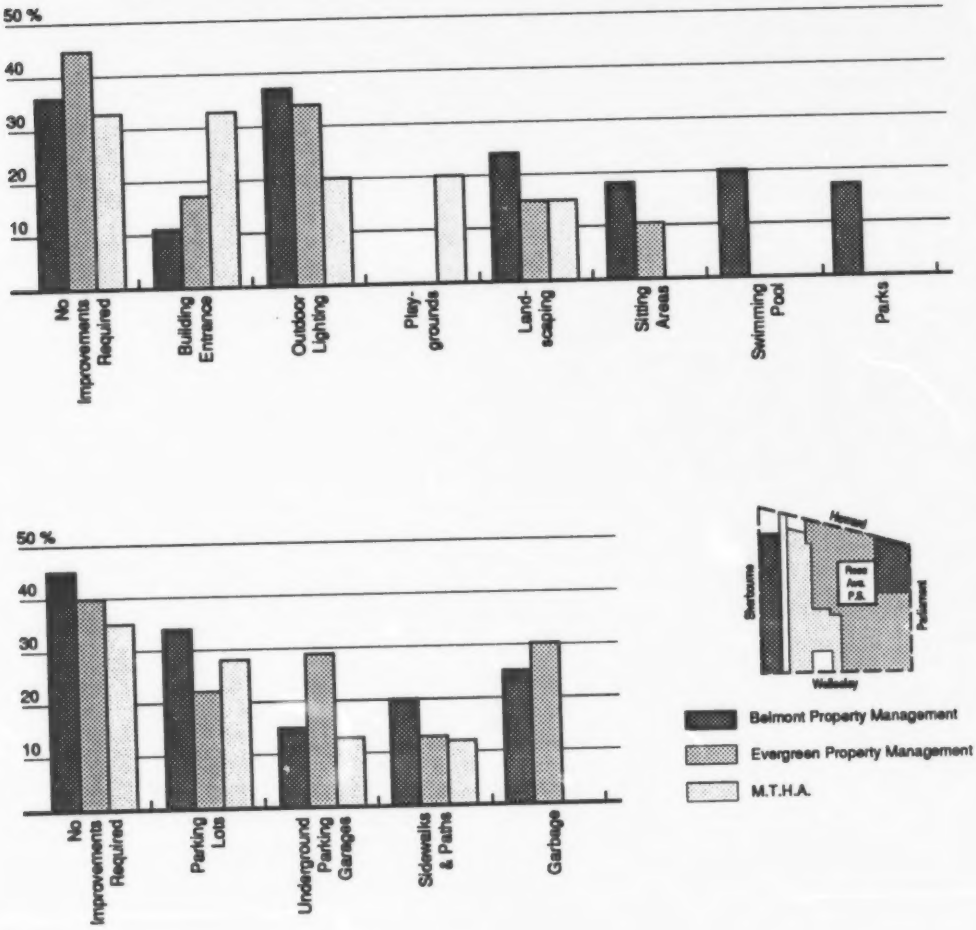
In the Evergreen buildings, almost half (45%) of the tenants we interviewed felt that no improvements to outdoor facilities were needed. Over one third complained about poor outdoor lighting. More specifically:

- 34% of the Evergreen tenants we interviewed complained about outdoor lighting. 29% specified that more lights were needed, particularly along pathways. Others complained that lights were broken and in need of repair.
- 17% complained about their building entrance. 7% were concerned about security, some stating the need for a doorman or for better lighting. The remainder complained that the entrance was ugly, needed repairs or cleaning.
- 15% complained about landscaping. Most suggested adding more grass or trees. Some felt more sitting areas were needed. Others said only that the landscaping needed work.
- 10% complained about outdoor sitting areas. 7% felt that more sitting areas were needed, some specifying the need for quiet areas for seniors or commenting on the need for better design. Others felt that existing sitting areas needed repairs.

In the older Belmont buildings (Rose Park Apartments), over one third (37%) of the tenants we interviewed felt that no improvements to outdoor facilities were needed. Another third complained about poor outdoor lighting and one quarter complained about landscaping. More specifically:

- 37% of the tenants we interviewed in the older Belmont buildings complained about outdoor lighting. 31% felt that more lights were needed, while the remainder felt that existing lights needed repair.
- 23% complained about landscaping. Most commented that the landscaping was ugly or needed better care. Some specified the need for more trees or grass.
- 20% complained about the outdoor swimming pool. 14% complained about the hours that the pool was open, most stating that they felt these hours were too restrictive. Some felt the pool needed to be cleaned more often.
- 17% complained about outdoor sitting areas. 11% wanted more sitting areas, especially quiet areas for seniors. Some felt that existing sitting areas needed to be cleaned.

Figure 16
Complaints about Outdoor Facilities



- 17% complained about the need for more parks in the area.
- 11% complained about their building entrance. Some noted that it needed repairs or cleaning.

In the newer Belmont buildings, almost half of the tenants we interviewed felt that no improvements were needed to outdoor facilities in the neighbourhood. Others, however, complained about landscaping, and in particular the broken tiling on walkways surrounding their building, about sitting areas, about outdoor lighting, about security at building entrances and about the lack of parks.

6. Streets, Sidewalks and Garbage

Tenants were asked if streets, sidewalks, parking or garbage areas needed improvement and, if so, what types of improvements were needed. Over one third of the tenants (37%) we interviewed felt that no improvements were needed in these areas at all. As before, there were also significant differences in the concerns expressed by tenants in different building clusters. Up to three responses were recorded for each tenant, though the following excludes those which did not receive comment from at least 10% of the tenants in the building cluster.

In the MTHA buildings, one third of the tenants we interviewed said that no improvements were needed. Over one quarter complained about surface parking. More specifically:

- 28% of the MTHA tenants we interviewed complained about parking lots. 20% commented that more surface parking was needed, with the majority of these specifying the need for more visitors' parking. Some also mentioned the need for better lighting and some mentioned the need for a special parking area reserved for disabled tenants or visitors.
- 13% complained about underground parking garages. 11% were concerned about security in the underground parking garages, some specifying the need for better lighting. Others suggested that more parking spaces were needed and some felt that general repairs were needed.
- 12% complained about sidewalks and paths. Half of these were comments about cleaning or maintenance, some specifying that sidewalks were icy in winter and difficult to walk on, especially for seniors. Others commented that better lighting was needed, or that sidewalks and paths needed to be widened or changed to improve circulation.

In the Evergreen buildings, about 40% of the tenants we interviewed said that no improvements were needed. Almost one third complained about underground parking and garbage, and roughly one quarter complained about surface parking. More specifically:

- 29% of the Evergreen tenants we interviewed complained about underground parking garages. 22% were concerned about security in the garages, some specifying the need for better lighting. Others mentioned the need for repairs or cleaning.
- 29% complained about garbage. Most simply complained that the outdoor garbage bin areas needed to be cleaned up, though many suggested emptying the bins more often and some suggested fencing around these areas.
- 22% complained about parking lots. 12% mentioned the need for more visitors parking and another 5% wanted more parking lots, in general. Some were concerned about lighting in parking areas and others mentioned the need for general repairs. Some also noted the need for a special parking area for disabled tenants or visitors.
- 13% complained about sidewalks and paths. 7% felt general repairs were needed, though some felt sidewalks and paths needed to be widened or better lit.

In the older Belmont buildings, almost half (46%) of the tenants we interviewed said that no improvements were needed. One third complained about surface parking and one quarter about garbage. More specifically:

- 34% of the tenants we interviewed in the older Belmont buildings complained about parking lots. 23% felt that more visitors' parking was needed and another 6% felt that more parking was needed, in general. Others mentioned the need for better lighting.
- 23% complained about garbage. Most said that the outdoor garbage bin areas needed to be cleaned, while others suggested that the bin areas be fenced or that the bins be emptied more often.
- 20% complained about sidewalks and paths. 14% felt that general repairs were needed, while others suggested that sidewalks needed to be widened.
- 14% complained about underground parking garages. 11% were concerned about security in the underground parking garages, while others mentioned the need for general repairs.

In the newer Belmont buildings only about one quarter of the tenants we interviewed felt that no improvements were needed to streets, sidewalks, parking or garbage bin areas. The remainder complained about the broken tiling on sidewalks and paths surrounding their building, about garbage, about security in the underground garage, about the need for more parking spaces, particularly for visitors, and about prostitutes on the street.

3

Social Service Needs and Delivery in St. James Town

Social services, for the purposes of this study, have been broadly defined to include an array of social and recreational services and programs, from security guards and health clinics to adult education courses and libraries. The evaluation of tenants' need for different types of services has relied on tenants' stated perceptions of their own needs, rather than on the perceptions of interviewers or service providers.

Similarly, our evaluation of service delivery in St. James Town has relied primarily on tenants' stated knowledge and use of available services and programs, though this has been supplemented by observations and by discussions with service providers.

A. Tenants' Perception of Service Needs and Delivery

Tenants in St. James Town were given a list of various types of social and recreational services (see Appendix C)*. Interviewers read this list aloud and asked if anyone in the household had needed or wanted any of these services in the past year. Tenants were requested to list services and programs wanted or needed by members of their household, regardless of whether these had actually been used.

Tenants who said that they had wanted or needed a particular service were asked if that service was available in the St. James Town neighbourhood. If they said that it was available, they were asked if they had used that service. Tenants who had used a particular service were, then, asked if they had experienced any problem with that service and, if so, what that problem had been.

Tenants were encouraged to name all of the services wanted by members of their immediate household. However, scrutiny of these responses indicates that some bias was introduced by interviewers who allowed tenants to speculate about the needs of other tenants. For example, some single persons living alone had indicated the need for daycare or for social programs for teens, when these, clearly, were not needed by anyone in their current household.

* Appendices to the report are available upon request under separate cover,
Appendix A: Survey Methodology
Appendix B: Interview Schedule
Appendix C: Introductory Letter, language assistance cards, and interview flash cards.
Appendix D: Reference

On the other hand, interviewers also noted a tendency for some tenants to dismiss the question of service needs with some embarrassment and without much thought. We believe that this tendency has probably countered the bias introduced by the too liberal interpretation of need described above.

As a result, while we assume that the following statistics provide an indication of social and recreational service needs in St. James Town, these should be considered as general indications of the relative need for different types of services and not necessarily as a precise inventory of actual needs.

Over three quarters of those we interviewed mentioned needing or wanting at least one type of service, though most mentioned more than one. Almost one quarter of the tenants we interviewed in St. James Town (23%) said they and other members of their household had not needed or wanted any social or recreational services in the past year.

Table 11 lists the types of services mentioned as wanted or needed by respondents. These services are listed, and discussed, in order of the frequency with which they were mentioned. Responses to the question of service needs by tenants in the Evergreen buildings tended to resemble these aggregate responses, while those by tenants in the MTHA and Belmont buildings diverged markedly for some specific types of services.

1. Security Services

Tenants indicated that security services were the most wanted type of service in all three of the building clusters we studied in St. James Town. Security services can include the services of police officers, security guards or neighbourhood groups, such as Neighbourhood Watch. Tenants were not asked to distinguish between these, but simply to state whether they or anyone else in their household had needed or wanted any of these security services during the past year.

From 37% to 44% of the tenants we interviewed in each building cluster said that they had needed some type of security services at least once during the past year.

About 60% of those who said that they had needed some type of security service also said that they knew security guards were available in the neighbourhood. Only half of these, however, said that they had actually used these services.

Tenants complained about the inadequacy of security services in the neighbourhood more often than any other social or recreational service discussed in the study. Most complained that security guards could not be found when needed, did not provide the quality of service expected of them, were too few in number or were too slow to respond when called. Some tenants also complained that the police, when called, were not quick enough to respond to their needs.

Table 23
Tenants' Social Service Needs

Type of Service	Proportion of Respondents indicating a Need for this Type of Service
Security services	41%
Library services	27%
Dental clinic	25%
Health clinic	24%
Adult education	22%
Programs for adults	18%
Legal aid services	17%
Employment services	17%
Information services	17%
Immigrant Services	14%
Programs for children	13%
Daycare	12%
Programs for seniors	11%
Counselling services	8%
Programs for teens	8%

While security services appear to be inadequate in St. James Town, one should remember that the need for security can also be addressed in other ways. For example, the design of buildings and their surroundings, as well as the maintenance of locks and lighting, can affect both tenants' perceptions of and actual security. Similarly, providing opportunities for tenants to become acquainted with their neighbours can help them distinguish other tenants from intruders, as well as promote proprietary feelings about their environment.

2. Library Services

Library services were the second most common service tenants said they had used or wanted to use in the past year.

Thirty-eight per cent of the tenants we interviewed in the Belmont bildings, 26% in the Evergreen buildings and 16% in the MTHA buildings mentioned needing library services during the past year.

Only about 25% of the tenants, who mentioned needing library services, said these services were available in St. James Town. These respondents indicated that there was a bookmobile that they used when it visited the area.

Most, however, said that they used library services outside of the neighbourhood, usually at the Parliament Street Branch at Parliament and Gerrard Street East. Some also complained about these services, saying either that this was a poor location or that using this facility presented them with difficulties.

The Toronto Public Library Board is aware of these difficulties and is currently studying alternatives to address the need for library services in St. James Town. It appears that either a storefront library facility will be added in St. James Town or the Parliament Street Branch will be replaced by a new facility located somewhere between its current site and the St. James Town neighbourhood.

3. Dental Clinic

Free or low-cost dental services were the third most common service tenants said they used or needed to use in the past year.

From 22% to 27% of the tenants we interviewed in each building cluster said that they had needed the services of a low-cost dental clinic in the past year.

Only about 10% of the tenants in St. James Town, who said they needed free or low-cost dental services, also said this service was available in the neighbourhood and only half of these said that they had used this dental clinic.

4. Health Clinic

A health clinic or family doctor's office was the fourth most wanted or needed type of service in the overall neighbourhood, according to tenants.

One third of the tenants we interviewed in the MTHA buildings, 22% in the Belmont buildings and 19% in the Evergreen buildings said that they had needed health services in the past year.

About two-thirds of the tenants, who mentioned needing the services of a health clinic, said that these services were available in St. James Town. Most of these tenants indicated that they had used the clinic located on the first floor at 200 Wellesley Street.

Despite the fact that this clinic has a separate entrance from the MTHA apartment tower in which it is located, it appears that MTHA tenants are more aware of this service and use it more than other tenants in the neighbourhood.

Though most of the tenants who had used this clinic said they had no problem with the service provided, some complained that the service provided was poor, that there was a long wait for service or that they did not like the way they were treated by the staff.

5. Adult Education

Adult education services include such things as literacy courses, upgrading and job-skill training programs. These types of services were the fifth most needed or wanted services in St. James Town.

One quarter of the tenants we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings, 21% in the MTHA buildings and 14% in the Belmont buildings said that they had wanted some type of adult education program during the past year.

Only about 20% of the tenants, who said that they had needed some type of adult education program in the past year, also said they knew that some programs were available in St. James Town at the Rose Avenue Public School.

Only 10%, however, said that they had actually participated in some type of adult education course in the neighbourhood. Though most of these tenants said that they had no problem with the programs they had participated in, one tenant complained that the programs offered were too difficult.

6. Social and Recreational Programs for Adults

Social and recreational programs for adults were the sixth most commonly wanted service in the neighbourhood.

One quarter of the tenants we interviewed in the Belmont buildings, 18% in the MTHA buildings and 14% in the Evergreen buildings said that they had needed this type of program in the past year.

About 15% of the tenants, who said they had wanted or needed some type of program for adults, also said that such programs were available in the neighbourhood. Only 10%, of those mentioning that they had wanted these types of programs, however, said that they had actually attended such a program in St. James Town.

A few of the tenants who said that they had participated in some type of social or recreational program for adults in the neighbourhood complained about the cost, about there being too few such programs or about the lack of advertising for those programs which do exist, though most indicated they had had no problem with these programs.

7. Legal Aid

From 15% to 20% of the tenants we interviewed in each of the building clusters in St. James Town said that they had used or needed to use free or low-cost legal services during the past year.

Only about 10% of the tenants, who said that they had needed free or low-cost legal services, also said that they knew such services were available in the neighbourhood.

About 7%, of those mentioning this as a need, said they had actually used legal aid provided by Neighbourhood Legal Services. Though most said they had no problem with the type of service provided, one tenant complained that the service provided was somehow inappropriate.

8. Employment Services

Employment services include such things as employment offices, employment counselling services and job search training programs.

These types of services were specified as needed by 21% of the tenants we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings, 19% in the MTHA buildings and 7% in the Belmont buildings.

None of the tenants, who said that they had needed some type of employment service in the past year, said that this type of service was available in St. James Town.

9. Information and Referral Services

Community information and referral services were mentioned as needed by 19% of the tenants we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings, 17% in the Belmont buildings and 12% in the MTHA buildings.

Among the tenants who said that they had needed or wanted some type of community information or referral, only about 10% said that this type of information service was available in St. James Town and only 6% said that they had used it.

While Neighbourhood Information Post provides this service for the St. James Town area, this service was not located within the immediate neighbourhood until after our interviews with tenants were completed.

10. Immigrant Services

Immigrant services include such things as translation services, "English as a Second Language" courses and specialized counselling services for immigrants.

These types of services were mentioned as needed by 19% of the tenants we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings, where most of the area's most recent immigrants live, by 12% in the Belmont buildings and by 8% in the MTHA buildings.

Among the tenants who said that they had needed some type of specialized service for immigrants, only 7% said that such services were available in St. James Town and only 5% said that they had used them.

11. Social and Recreational Programs for Children

Social and recreational programs for children were mentioned as needed by roughly 13% of the respondents in St. James Town, though 25% of the households we interviewed had children living at home.

Nineteen per cent of the tenants we interviewed in the MTHA buildings said that they had needed these types of programs in the past year, compared to only 11% of those in the private market buildings.

Among the households who had said that they needed some type of social or recreational program for children, just over one quarter said that they knew such programs were available in St. James Town, though only 10% said that their children had participated in one of these programs in the past year.

Though most of those, who said that their children had participated in some type of social or recreational program in the neighbourhood, indicated that there had been no problem, some complained that these programs were not well-planned or well-supervised or that adequate information about them was lacking.

12. Childcare

Childcare or daycare services were mentioned as needed or wanted by about 12% of the households we interviewed in the neighbourhood.

One fifth of the tenants in the MTHA buildings mentioned having needed daycare in the past year, compared with 10% in the Evergreen buildings and 7% in the Belmont buildings.

Among the households which indicated that they had needed daycare in the past year, about one quarter said that daycare was available in St. James Town and about 20% said their young children attended the daycare at the Rose Avenue Public School.

13. Social and Recreational Programs for Seniors

Social and recreational programs for seniors were mentioned as wanted by about 11% of the respondents in the neighbourhood, though 17% of the tenants we interviewed were pensioners.

Eighteen per cent of the MTHA households we interviewed said that they had needed these types of programs during the past year, compared with 9% in the Evergreen buildings and 7% in the Belmont buildings.

About 6% of the tenants, who said that they had needed some type of social or recreational program for seniors, also said that such programs were available in St. James Town and that they had participated in them.

14. Counselling Services

Counselling services were described in the interviews with tenants as counselling for pregnant teens, alcohol or drug dependencies or other personal problems.

From 6% to 9% of the tenants we interviewed in each of the building clusters mentioned a need for counselling services, though interviewers suspected that many of these were implying that other tenants needed counselling rather than that they needed these services themselves. None of these said that such services were available in the neighbourhood.

15. Social and Recreational Programs for Teens

Only about 8% of the tenants we interviewed said that they or someone else in their household had wanted or needed social or recreational programs for teens in the past year.

About 12% of the tenants, who said that programs for teens were needed, also said that such programs were available in St. James Town, though none of these tenants said that any member of their household had participated in these activities in the past year.

16. Other Services

St. James Town tenants were also asked if there were other types of social or recreational services that they needed or wanted, which we had neglected to list. Their responses were many and varied. Table 12 lists all of the relevant services suggested by tenants. These are presented roughly in order of the frequency with which they were mentioned.

The types of additional services mentioned as needed by tenants reflect the same types of concerns noted throughout this study. These can be summarized as the need for a safe, secure and well-maintained residential environment, with facilities and services that promote a sense of community and provide for the specialized needs of a diverse population.

Table 24
List of Additional Social Services Wanted by Respondents

- Comunity centre
- Police station or mini-station
- Tenants' organization
- Meals-on-wheels
- Homemaking assistance
- Thrift shop
- Financial counselling services
- Income tax clinic
- Tenant-run building maintenance program
- Fire station or mini-station
- Community newspaper
- Child abuse and neglect services
- AIDS education
- Specialized services for the disabled
- Tenant ombudsman

B. Evaluating Social Services in St. James Town

Tenants' evaluation of their own service needs is informative. The hierarchy of needs which emerges as a result of aggregating their responses is often quite different from that obtained using other methods, such as the comments of service providers. Nonetheless, the informed opinions of service providers are also useful, particularly if these are from field workers whose jobs demand frequent contact with tenants and their concerns.

1. The Service Providers' Network

At the time of our interviews with tenants in St. James Town, the Service Providers' Network was busy making plans to improve the availability of the services they and other groups offer to tenants in the neighbourhood. While Neighbourhood Information Post, Huntley Youth Services and Riverdale Immigrant Women's Centre have been providing services to St. James Town tenants for many years, in the past this usually required tenants to travel outside of the neighbourhood to the offices of the individual service provider. Starting in January of 1988, however, these agencies co-operatively opened a site office at 375 Bleeker Street.

In the morning the site office is used by Neighbourhood Information Post, which provides information and referral services, including a daycare registry. Afternoons the site office is used by other service providers with clients in St. James Town, such as youth workers, counsellors and case workers from Huntley Youth Services and Riverdale Immigrant Women's Centre. These agencies hope that the site office will eventually be used by family benefits' workers, by tenants' groups and by other service providers.

The Service Providers' Network is also sponsoring a social drop-in for youth in St. James Town. It is hoped that this group of teens will help provide information about the service needs of youth in the neighbourhood. This information will then be passed on to the appropriate service agencies, such as the City of Toronto Department of Parks and Recreation.

The Service Providers' Network has concluded that lack of services is not the problem in St. James Town, information about and access to services is. As a result, a student has been hired to co-ordinate publicity over a three-month period and hand deliver notices to tenants about the opening of the new site office and the services it offers.

2. Conclusion

While the site office begun by the Service Providers' Network is an important first step in improving tenants' access to many types of needed social services, much more than this will be necessary if St. James Town tenants' own perceptions of their needs are to be met.

The need for security, while not thought of as a traditional social service need, is clearly perceived by tenants as the most important unmet need in St. James Town. Added security guards or a new mini-police station are not likely to fully address these concerns.

While crime rates, according to the Metropolitan Toronto Police Department, are no higher in these buildings than in other high-rise apartments in the City, tenants' perceptions of their own vulnerability can be a source of tremendous stress and dissatisfaction, leading, in some cases, to irrational fears and social isolation.

Our interviewers encountered many tenants who would not answer or open their doors when home alone, though we had sent out letters informing them of the study before hand and our interviewers wore I.D. tags on their lapels. Most of the tenants who did participate in the study expressed their fears, and at times their outrage, about broken locks and intercoms at building entrances, about poorly lit pathways and parking garages, about isolated laundry rooms and about the host of unfamiliar people with whom they shared sometimes long and lonely elevator rides.

Some of these concerns could be addressed relatively easily by the property management companies responsible, but this would require additional expenditures on personnel, maintenance and, possibly, the redesign of buildings entrances. Tenants also have a vital role to play in encouraging a sense of community and discouraging vandalism.

Library services are also in great demand among St. James Town tenants. The Toronto Public Library Board is currently planning a catchment area study of St. James Town and the neighbourhood surrounding the Parliament Street Branch at Gerrard and Parliament Streets. This study should help determine whether a storefront library facility in St. James Town or a new branch, located somewhere between the two neighbourhoods, will be constructed.

While many tenants mentioned a need for the health clinic, its location in an MTHA building appears to discourage tenants of the private market buildings from using it. In fact, there are several types of social and recreational programs currently taking place within the MTHA buildings, which tenants of other buildings rarely, if ever, participate in. By the same token, then, tenants from the private buildings may avoid using the Service Providers' site office because of its location in an MTHA building. If this proves to be the case, the effectiveness of the site office will clearly be limited to the service it provides to MTHA tenants.

Finally, while the Rose Avenue Public School is used to provide many different kinds of educational and recreational programs for adults, as well as children, it cannot realistically be used to fulfil all the various social and recreational service needs of a neighbourhood of over 12,000 people. When combined with the Evergreen and Belmont tenants' reluctance to use programs and services located in the MTHA buildings (and quite possibly vice versa), it seems that a more "neutral" multi-service community facility is needed.

4

The Social Impact of Rehabilitation on Existing Tenants

The "improvements" planned or proposed for St. James Town have grown out of a concern for deteriorating physical and social conditions in the neighbourhood. As we have learned through the "urban renewal" programs of the 1950s and 1960s and through the "neighbourhood preservation" movements of the 1970s, our attempts at improving residential conditions for low and moderate-income households living in deteriorating neighbourhoods often create additional hardships for these households, while the intended benefits accrue almost exclusively to higher-income households.

To avoid a repetition of this history, careful account must be taken of the housing market forces currently operating in the City of Toronto and the wider Metropolitan area. One must keep in mind, for example, that St. James Town is one of the few neighbourhoods left in the City with a relatively large affordable housing stock. Thus, while the area currently accommodates households with a wide range of incomes, and upper-income households can be displaced as readily as lower-income households, it is the latter which will be hardest hit by increasing rents or by displacement, simply because they have fewer options for relocation.

Until the real problem—the lack of affordable housing—is addressed directly, displacement will continue to be a major problem in aging Toronto neighbourhoods, as elsewhere. The primary objective of anti-displacement strategies, therefore, must be to conserve and expand the supply of low-cost housing.

A. Potential Displacement

While definitions of displacement vary, possibly the most comprehensive definition is that provided by George and Eunice Grier in their study for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. They state that:

> *"Displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and which:*
>
> 1. *are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent;*
> 2. *occur despite the household's having met all previously-imposed conditions of occupancy; and*
> 3. *make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable."*[3]

As the Griers note, displacement can result from quite diverse causes and housing conditions, some seemingly opposite of one another. For example, we typically think of displacement as caused by large increases in rent or by conversion from rental housing to condominiums. The Griers stress, however, that displacement can also be caused by lack of maintenance, by intolerable or hazardous living conditions and by other subtle actions by landlords, which can prompt tenants to leave out of concern for their own health and safety. This type of movement cannot realistically be called voluntary, though it usually precedes rehabilitation and the displacement caused by "improvements".

1. Potential Rent Increases in St. James Town

Tenant displacement has already begun in St. James Town as a result of deteriorating physical conditions and the withdrawal of needed services from privately-owned buildings. A number of proposed changes are likely to increase this potential for displacement. Among the most important conditions likely to result in displacement in St. James Town are:

- housing code enforcement, including the enforcement of overcrowding by-laws;
- rehabilitation of the housing stock, whether private or publicly-assisted; and
- rising market prices and rents.

[3] George and Eunice Grier, Urban Displacement: A Reconnaissance, Report for the Office of the Secretary, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington D.C., 1978.

The City of Toronto Planning and Development Department's working paper on high-rise apartment conservation spelled out some of the "*improvements*" needed to maintain the housing stock in St. James Town, as well as the estimated cost of these improvements and their potential impact on rents in the neighbourhood. They emphasize that conservation involves "*long-term measures needed to preserve the life of a building,*" as distinguished from cosmetic and day-to-day maintenance. The costs associated with regular maintenance are assumed to have only a minimal impact on rent.

In the summer and fall of 1985, the City Buildings and Inspections Department carried out a preliminary assessment of the need for conservation among 15 of the high-rise apartment buildings in St. James Town. Their findings suggest that:

> *"...in order to conserve apartments, the buildings will generally require substantial, ongoing repairs of a mechanical, structural and cosmetic nature....none of the buildings were found to have reached a stage of deterioration or the end of their mechanical life, that prompt attention to repairs and maintenance could not restore them."*[4]

Although no estimates were made regarding the cost of renovating the buildings in St. James Town, the working paper discusses a 1983 Provincial consultants' report that estimated the cost of renovation among high-rise buildings in Ontario generally. These cost estimates ranged from $8,000 to $16,000 per unit (in 1985 dollars). Depending on the condition of the building, existing rent levels and period of amortization, the consultants suggested that the estimated rent increase over the base year, required in the first year ranged from 11% to 23% for privately-owned buildings.

As the working paper notes, however, the extent of rent increases estimated by the consultants was confined to the amortized cost of conservation and did not take into account either the statutory annual increase related to inflation (currently set at 5.2%) or the possible increases due to increased costs of regular maintenance and operation (estimated by the City to remain constant at 1% per year).

While these figures may give an impression of the general magnitude of revitalization costs, they should not be construed as an accurate estimate of the potential rent increases that could be passed on to tenants in private-market housing in St. James Town. Although the St. James Town Revitalization Studies were to include two other consultant studies, on the physical and economic aspects of revitalization, this work has not proceeded as originally planned. As a result, no accurate estimates of either the cost of rehabilitation or its potential impact on rent levels in the St. James Town neighbourhood can be given at this time.

[4] City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, "High-Rise Apartments in the City of Toronto: The Issue of Conservation," Working Paper, Research and Information Section, September 1986.

2. Tenants' Willingness to Pay for Improvements

St. James Town tenants were told that improvements to the area might cause rents to increase. They were then asked how much their rent could increase before they would feel forced to move and where they might move to, if forced.

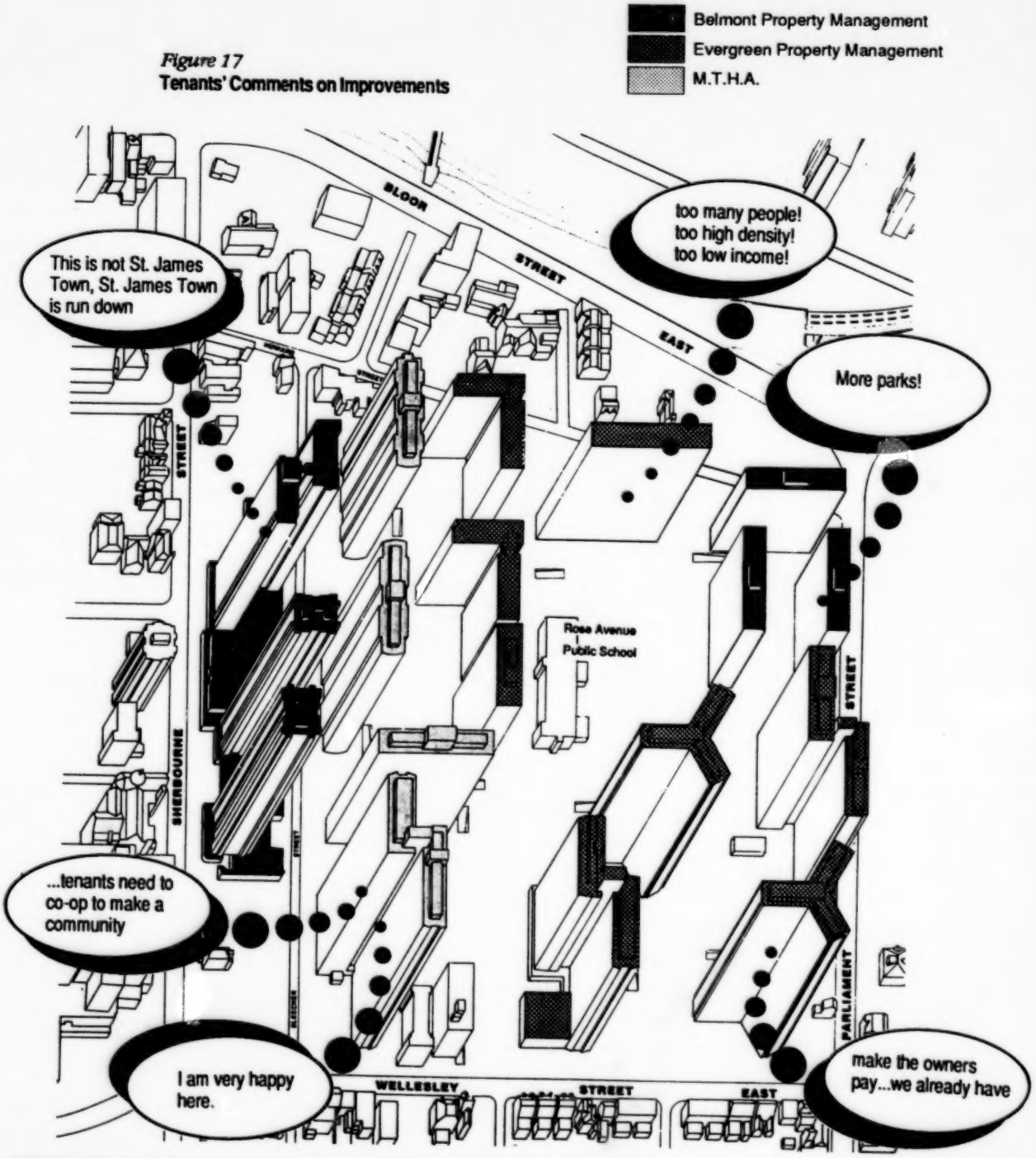
About 52% of the respondents were not asked this particular set of questions, either because they lived in the MTHA buildings and would not be affected (26%), because they lived in the newer Belmont buildings which are not yet considered in need of rehabilitation (14%), or because they said that they were planning to move out within the next 6 months (12%). The figures below, therefore, represent the remaining 48% of the households participating in the study or 82% of those in the private market housing.

Most tenants began by qualifying their answer to the question of potential rent increases with the comment that their willingness to pay would depend on the type of improvements undertaken. Tenants stressed the importance of the building improvements they had discussed earlier, but were concerned that they not be forced to pay more for normal maintenance. Similarly, one can assume that most people will want to pay less than they can realistically afford. As a result, the following reports what tenants have *said* they are willing to pay and not necessarily what they *are* willing to pay.

- 24% of the tenants we interviewed for this part of the study said that they did not know or could not predict how much more they would be willing or able to pay.
- 16% said they were unwilling or unable to pay any increase whatsoever. Many added that the cost of improving the neighbourhood should be born by the owners of the buildings because it was the owners who had caused the need for improvement by failing to maintain appropriate standards.
- Another 46% of the tenants specified increases of 15% or less. 15% felt they could afford increases of 5% or less. 23% felt they could afford increases between 6% and 10%, and 8% felt they could afford increases between 11% and 15%.
- Only 14% felt they could afford increases of more than 15% (the minimum amount of increase estimated for conservation of the private market buildings). 6% felt they could afford increases between 16% and 20%. 5% felt they could afford increases between 21% and 30% and 3% felt they could afford increases between 31% and 50%.

Not surprisingly, there were significant differences in the responses of tenants in the different building clusters. Less than 10% of the tenants we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings felt they were able or willing to pay rent increases over 15%, even if such increases were to substantially improve the physical appearance and functioning of the neighbourhood. In contrast, one third of the tenants we interviewed in the older Belmont buildings felt they would be willing to pay rent increases over 15% for substantial improvements to their buildings.

Figure 17
Tenants' Comments on Improvements


Belmont Property Management
Evergreen Property Management
M.T.H.A.
BLOOR STREET EAST
This is not St. James Town, St. James Town is run down
too many people! too high density! too low income!
More parks!
SHERBOURNE STREET
Rose Avenue Public School
PARLIAMENT STREET
...tenants need to co-op to make a community
I am very happy here.
WELLESLEY STREET EAST
make the owners pay...we already have

In the Evergreen Buildings:

- 18% of the tenants we interviewed said they were unwilling or unable to pay any increase.
- 47% said they would be willing to pay rent increases of 15% or less: 18% said they were unwilling or unable to pay more than 5%; 20% said they would pay between 6% and 10%; and 9% said they would pay between 11% and 15%.
- Only 8% said they could pay 16% or more: 3% said they would pay between 16% and 20%; 3% said they would pay between 21% and 30%; and 2% said they would pay between 31% and 50%.
- 27% said they did not know how much more they would be willing or able to pay for neighbourhood improvements.

Because the newer Belmont buildings are not slated for renovation at this time, their responses to this question were excluded. Thus, in the older Belmont buildings:

- 9% of the tenants we interviewed said they were unwilling or unable to pay any increase at all.
- 42% said that they would be willing to pay rent increases of 15% or less: 3% said they were unwilling or unable to pay more than 5%; 33% said they would pay between 6% and 10%; and 6% said they would pay between 11% and 15%.
- 36% said they could afford rent increases of 16% or more: 18% said they would pay between 16% and 20%; 9% said they would pay between 21% and 30%; and 9% said they would pay between 31% and 50%.
- 12% said they did not know how much more they would be willing or able to pay for improvements.

3. Where Displaced Tenants Would Move

Once respondents in the older private market buildings had specified the amount of rent increase that they were willing or able to pay for improvements to the neighbourhood, they were then asked where they thought they would move, if forced to leave St. James Town because of rent increases.

Over half (56%) said they did not know where they would move, though 11% said they would move wherever they could afford and 3% said they would seek subsidized accommodation, either in MTHA or a seniors' building. This response was twice as common among tenants we interviewed in the Evergreen buildings, as compared with the older Belmont buildings.

One third indicated that they would stay in the City of Toronto, 28% indicating that they would stay in downtown Toronto and 4% indicating that they would move elsewhere within the City, such as the West End or Yonge and Eglinton. Roughly half of the Belmont tenants we interviewed, as opposed to about one quarter of the Evergreen tenants, said they would stay in the City of Toronto.

About 12% indicated that they would move outside of the City to some other location in Metro. 8% said they would move to Scarborough and 4% to other suburbs, such as North York.

4. Potential Displacement due to Rent Increases

Clearly, rent increases in the St. James Town neighbourhood would affect low-income tenants most. While tenants in MTHA housing are virtually immune to increases related to improvements, low and moderate income households in the private market housing are not. While we have no accurate estimate of the cost of rehabilitating the privately-owned buildings in St. James Town, and no reliable estimate of how much rents are likely to increase as a result, we have taken two figures, 16% and 30%, in order to illustrate the potential impact of a relatively modest and a relatively steep pass through of costs.

Using income and rent averages from our interviews with tenants, we estimate that a 16% increase in rents in the private market housing in St. James Town could result in 40% of the current households in these buildings paying more than 30% of their total household income on rent. A 30% increase could result in half of the current households in the private market housing paying more than 30% of their income on rent.

Moreover, for those households in the privately-owned buildings with incomes of less than $25,000, we estimate that 63% would be paying more than 30% of their total household income on rent, if rents in St. James Town increased by 16%. If rents increased by 30%, we estimate that over three quarters of these households would be paying more than 30% of their income on rent.

To assess the potential impact of rent increases on tenants, however, one must take into account not only tenants' ability to pay, but also their willingness to pay. Note, for example, that only 14% of the St. James Town tenants we interviewed, who were likely to be affected by rent increases in the private market housing, said that they would be willing or able to pay a rent increase of more than 15% to cover the cost of building conservation or neighbourhood improvements.

While most of these were low and moderate income tenants, many were also upper-income tenants who felt that they could, and would rather, find accommodation elsewhere, if rents increased in St. James Town. Thus, tenants' willingness to pay is at least partly related to the availability of other housing options.

We estimate that at least 16% of the households living in privately-owned buildings in St. James Town are already paying more than 30% of their household income on rent. We also estimate that almost 90% of these are households with annual incomes less than $20,000. As a result, we suggest that those most likely to be displaced by relatively small rent increases of 10% or less are not those with the lowest incomes, but those with higher incomes, who have relatively more choices about where to relocate.

Low-income tenants we interviewed were much more likely to express confusion about where they might go if forced to move, because their realistic options are extremely limited. Higher-income tenants have many more options for relocating downtown or elsewhere in the City. Rent increases for these high-income tenants may make other locations much more desireable than staying in St. James Town.

We estimate that relatively small rent increases will leave many lower-income households in the neighbourhood, but spending greater and greater proportions of their income on rent or, alternatively, crowding ever greater numbers of people into already overcrowded apartments. Because so few other affordable housing options exist in the City of Toronto, many low-income households will feel forced to stay in St. James Town despite rent increases.

Relatively high rent increases, approaching the 16% to 30% range, on the other hand, are much more likely to have the effect of displacing low-income tenants. We estimate that, under these circumstances, as many as one third of the tenants in St. James Town would be forced not only to leave the neighbourhood, but to leave the City of Toronto, as well, and look for housing elsewhere in Metro.

Conclusion

The St. James Town neighbourhood provides relatively low-cost housing for over 12,000 people. While some of the buildings in the neighbourhood are poorly designed and many are poorly maintained and poorly managed, low-income tenants have few other affordable housing options available to them in the City of Toronto. As such, the revitalization of St. James Town, which is necessary to conserve the housing stock and improve the social environment, must be undertaken with extreme care if the affordability of the housing is to be maintained and the displacement of existing tenants avoided.

Among our study's most important findings was the discovery of significant differences associated with the three different property management groups in the neighbourhood. Though previous observers have distinguished between the publicly-owned (MTHA) and privately-owned housing in St. James Town, our study also distinguished between the privately-owned housing managed by Evergreen Property Management and by Belmont Property Management. Our analysis of the data provided by tenants, as well as by trained observers, revealed dramatic differences in the condition of buildings, in the demographic characteristics of tenants and in the social relations between tenants and between tenants and management.

Most of the tenants we interviewed in the Belmont-managed buildings said that they did not live in St. James Town. These tenants tended to view themselves as separate physically, because they live on the periphery of the neighbourhood in buildings which are relatively well maintained, and socially, because they tend to have higher incomes, tend to be English-speaking and culturally homogeneous. Belmont tenants also tended to be the most satisfied with their living conditions and rarely participate in community activities within St. James Town. While the older Belmont buildings, the Rose Park Apartments, are showing signs of aging and will require some renovation in the near future, the newer buildings in St. James Town West will not need rehabilitation for some time to come.

The MTHA buildings in St. James Town, like other public housing, appear to be in need of constant repair. MTHA tenants, however, differ from tenants in private-market housing in at least one significant way: they tend to have low-incomes, not from employment, but from social assistance. As a result, MTHA tenants tend to be at home more often and tend to use their building and the surrounding neighbourhood more intensively than tenants who leave the area to work each day. The MTHA tenants we interviewed also tended to have lived in St. James Town longer and to be more active

in the community than tenants from the private-market buildings. Many of these tenants expressed concerns about building security, about maintenance and about relations between tenants. MTHA is currently planning to spend $10 million on renovations to these buildings over the next 5 years.

The buildings managed by Evergreen were clearly in the worst condition. Many tenants in these buildings complained about poor security, poor maintenance and poor relations with management. Many also expressed concern about deteriorating race relations in the neighbourhood, no doubt related to the fact that the Evergreen buildings house most of the neighbourhood's most recent immigrants, many of whom are Asian refugees living in relatively large extended families.

While it is clear that the Evergreen buildings are in need of the most extensive repairs and improvements, the critical shortage of affordable housing in the City of Toronto makes the process of rehabilitation in private-market housing a two-edged sword. Unless provisions are made to ensure that low-income households will be able to remain in the neighbourhood, either through the development of a housing bank in St. James Town or through a dramatic expansion of rent subsidy programs, rehabilitation is likely to result either in displacement or extreme economic hardship for many, if not most, of the low-income households in the private-market housing. Similarly, unless more low-cost housing is made available in the City, enforcement of the overcrowding by-law in St. James Town is likely to hurt those who it is intended to help.

The City of Toronto and senior levels of government have indicated their interest in preserving and revitalizing St. James Town. We strongly recommend that anti-displacement policies be adopted by both of these levels of government before any rehabilitation of the private market housing in St. James Town is allowed to begin. Similarly, we suggest that any re-design of the neighbourhood or its structures be implemented in an evolutionary manner to allow for the active participation of interested tenants and to ensure that further modifications can be adopted as the impact of these changes on existing tenants become known.